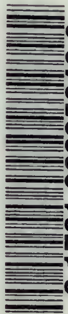

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SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

From A.D. 476 to 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

General Editor: A. H. JOHNSON, M.A

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME II

THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE

918-1273

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FOR THE HIGHER FORMS OF SCHOOLS

SIX AGES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

FROM A.D. 476 TO 1878

IN SIX VOLUMES

EDITED BY A. H. JOHNSON, M.A.
Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford

VOL. I. THE DAWN OF MEDIÆVAL EUROPE. 476-918. By the Rev. J. H. B. MASTERMAN, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Birmingham.

VOL II. THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 918-1273. By BEATRICE A. LEES, Resident History Tutor, Somerville College, Oxford.

VOL. III. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGE. 1273-1453. By ELEANOR C. LODGE, Vice-Principal and Modern History Tutor, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

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THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE

918-1273

BY

BEATRICE A. LEES

RESIDENT HISTORY TUTOR, SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, OXFORD
AUTHOR OF "KING ALFRED TO EDWARD I."

WITH TEN MAPS

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PREFACE

BETWEEN the election of Henry the Fowler to the German throne and the rise of the House of Habsburg to power lies the central and most characteristic period of mediæval history, the "Age of the Imperial Idea." The Carolingian Empire had broken up, but the influence of Charlemagne survived, as an inspiring tradition and a great ideal. If memory thus enshrined a World-State, centred in the city of Rome, hope pointed forward to a World-Church, symbolized by a "City of God." Hence the theory of political and ecclesiastical unity was never lost, even when, in practical politics, the disintegrating tendencies of declining tribalism and growing feudalism were at their height. Though the attempt to realize the Imperial idea in Church and State was an apparent failure, the nations of modern Europe are the direct heirs of the Mediæval Empire, and much that is valuable in current political philosophy may be traced to the theories of government which were formulated during the struggle between Empire and Papacy, and used as weapons

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in the strife of the "two Swords." The homogeneity of the Middle Ages, the parallelism of political development among the young European nations, makes it possible to treat the chief movements in mediæval history as connected wholes in various countries, and through long periods of time. The Middle Ages laid stress on distinctions of class and caste rather than of race or nationality. Mediæval society was, in great measure, cosmopolitan. Feudalism, monasticism, chivalry, the Crusades, the early University system, all belong to the history of Western Christendom, and are not bound by local or national limitations. This comparative breadth and simplicity of outlook, with the high thought, the generous, if ill-regulated, effort, and the fresh spontaneous energy of the typically mediæval centuries, gives their history a peculiar charm. They are the ages of Faith, when religion was a political force, and the clergy were the spiritual and intellectual leaders of mankind. They are the ages of Force, when the purest idealism and the grossest materialism jostled one another in a world of contradictions and contrasts, and might and right were apt to be confounded. But they are also the ages of youth and hope. If mediæval society was impulsive and illogical, it combined something of the

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gracious promise of childhood with its childish folly and credulity. If its modes of thought and expression were stereotyped, the fervour and the vitality of its intellectual and political life were all its own.

The Bibliography at the end of this book gives a slight indication of the extent to which the results of modern research have been rendered accessible to teachers and students of mediæval history. It may easily be supplemented by reference to the bibliographies of Langlois [*Manuel de bibliographie historique*], Molinier [*Sources de l'Histoire de France*], Wattenbach [*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*], Ulysse Chevalier [*Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-Bibliographie* and *Topo-Bibliographie*], and Gross [*Sources and Literature of English History*]. The most important original authorities are also published in the collection issued by the Master of the Rolls [*Rolls Series*] and in the "Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum," a cheap reprint from the famous "Monumenta Germaniæ."

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Chronological Table xiii

Introduction. Europe at the Beginning of the Tenth Century 1

CHAPTER I

The Saxon Emperors (918-1002) 5

CHAPTER II

The Transference of the Empire from the Saxons to the Salians (1002-1056) 25

CHAPTER III

France under Carolingians and Capetians (918-1108) . 43

CHAPTER IV

Cluny and Movements of Reform 54

CHAPTER V

The Eastern Empire and the Seljuk Turks (912-1081). 61

CHAPTER VI

The War of Investiture (1056-1125) 71

CHAPTER VII

France under Louis VI. and Louis VII. (1108-1180) . 97

CHAPTER VIII

The Twelfth-Century Renaissance 111

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CHAPTER IX

PAGE

Germany and Italy under Lothair II. and Conrad III. (1125-1152) 122

CHAPTER X

The Comneni and the First Two Crusades (1081-1192) . 135

CHAPTER XI

Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard Communes (1152-1190) 152

CHAPTER XII

Henry VI. and Innocent III. (1190-1216) . . . 172

CHAPTER XIII

France under Philip Augustus, Louis VIII. and St Louis (1180-1270) 185

CHAPTER XIV

The Third and Fourth Crusades and the Latin Empire of the East (1149-1261) 203

CHAPTER XV

Frederick II. and the Strife with the Papacy (1216-1250) 213

CHAPTER XVI

The Coming of the Friars and the Mediæval Universities 228

CHAPTER XVII

Spain and Portugal (918-1273) 239

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CHAPTER XVIII

PAGE

The Fall of the Hohenstaufen and the Great Interregnum (1250-1273) 245

Conclusion. Europe at the End of the Thirteenth Century 251

Bibliography for Teachers and Advanced Students . 254

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

1. Saxon and Salian Emperors 257
2. The Hohenstaufen 258
3. The Capetian Kings of France . . . 259
4. The Norman Kings of Sicily 260
5. The Kings of Jerusalem 261
6. The Emperors of the East 262
7. Chronological List of Popes and Anti-Popes . 263

Index 265

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

919. Election of Henry the Fowler as King of the Franks and Saxons.
922. Election of Robert I., Count of Paris, as King of the West-Franks.
923. Election of Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy, as King of the West-Franks.
924. Death of Berengar, Emperor and King of Italy.
929. Battle of Lenzen. The Wends defeated by the Germans.
933. Defeat of the Magyars or Hungarians by the Germans.
936. Accession of Louis "d'Outre-mer," King of the West-Franks. Accession of Otto I., King of the East-Franks.
950. Berengar of Ivrea and his son Adalbert, Kings of Italy.
951. Otto I.'s First Italian Expedition and Conquest of the Italian Kingdom.
954. Accession of Lothair, King of the West-Franks.
955. Battle of the Lechfeld. Defeat of the Hungarians by the Germans. Election of Pope John XII.
962. Otto I. crowned Emperor at Rome.
963. Deposition of Pope John XII. Accession of the Eastern Emperor Basil II.
969. Murder of Nicephorus Phocas by John Zimisces.
973. Death of Otto I. and Accession of Otto II.
982. Battle of Colonne. The Saracens defeated by the Germans. Counter defeat of the Germans by the Saracens.
983. Death of Otto II. and Accession of Otto III.
986. Louis V. King of the West-Franks.
987. Election of Hugh Capet as King of France.
996. Gregory V. Pope. Otto III. crowned Emperor. Death of Hugh Capet. Accession of Robert II. to the French Throne.
999. Gerbert elected Pope as Sylvester II.
1002. Death of Otto III. Accession of Henry II.
1013. Henry II. crowned Emperor.
1016. Beginning of the Norman connexion with Southern Italy.
1017. Battle of Civitate.
1018. Battle of Cannæ.

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1024. Death of Henry II. Accession of Conrad II. Transference of the Empire to the Salian Dynasty.
1025. Death of the Eastern Emperor Basil II., the "Slayer of the Bulgarians."
1027. Coronation of Conrad II. as Emperor.
1030. Settlement of the Normans at Aversa.
1031. Accession of Henry I. to the French Throne.
1033. Coronation of Conrad II. as King of Burgundy.
1039. Death of Conrad II. Accession of Henry III.
1042. Norman Conquest of Apulia.
1044. Papal Schism.
1046. Synod of Sutri. German reform of the Papacy. Coronation of Henry III. as Emperor.
1047. Battle of Val es Dunes.
1048. Leo IX. Pope.
1049. Council of Rheims. Decrees against Simony and the Marriage of the Clergy.
1053. Leo IX. defeated by the Normans at Civitate.
1054. Battle of Mortemer.
1056. Death of Henry III. Accession of Henry IV.
1058. Battle of Varaville.
1060. Accession of Philip I. to the French Throne.
1066. Norman Conquest of England.
1071. The Eastern Emperor Romanus Diogenes defeated by the Seljuk Turks at Manzikert.
1073. Gregory VII. Pope. Saxon Revolt against Henry IV.
1076. Gregory VII. deposed at the Council of Worms. Excommunication and Deposition of Henry IV. by Gregory VII. Council of Tribur.
1077. Submission of Henry IV. at Canossa. Rudolf of Swabia anti-King.
1083. Battle of Dyrrachium or Durazzo. Alexius Comnenus defeated by the Normans.
1084. Sack of Rome by the Normans.
1085. Death of Gregory VII. at Salerno. Death of Robert Guiscard.
1086. Battle of Zalaca. Defeat of Alfonso VI. by the Almoravides.
1088. Urban II. Pope.
1092. Death of Malek Shah.
1093. Revolt of Conrad, son of Henry IV.
1095. Council of Clermont. The First Crusade.
1098. Foundation of Cîteaux.
1099. Paschal II. Pope. Jerusalem taken by the Crusaders. Death of Ruy Diaz, the Cid Campeador.

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1100. Death of Godfrey of Boulogne. Accession of Henry I. of England.
1101. Aquitanian Crusade.
1104. Revolt of Henry, son of Henry IV.
1105. Abdication of Henry IV.
1106. Death of Henry IV. Accession of Henry V.
1108. Accession of Louis VI. of France.
1115. Foundation of Clairvaux.
1116. Henry V. crowned Emperor at Rome.
1119. The French defeated by the English at Brémule.
1120. Wreck of the "White Ship." William, heir to the English Crown, drowned.
1122. Council of Worms. Concordat of Worms. Settlement of the Investiture Controversy.
1125. Death of Henry V. Accession of Lothair II.
1129. Marriage of Matilda of England and Geoffrey of Anjou.
1130. Papal Schism. Innocent II. and Anacletus II. rival Popes.
1135. Death of Henry I. of England. Civil War in England.
1137. Death of Louis VI. of France. Marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII. Death of Lothair II. Accession of Conrad III.
1139. Recognition of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily by Innocent II.
1142. Death of Abélard.
1144. Capture of Edessa by Zengy.
1146. The Second Crusade preached by St Bernard. Death of Zengy.
1147. The Second Crusade. Lisbon delivered from the Moors by a Crusading Fleet.
1148. Siege of Damascus abandoned: failure of the Crusade.
1152. Death of Conrad III. Accession of Frederick I., Barbarossa. Death of Suger. Divorce of Eleanor of Aquitaine. Her Marriage to Henry of Anjou.
1153. Death of St Bernard. Adrian IV. Pope.
1154. Accession of Henry II. of England. Death of Roger I. of Sicily. War between Frederick I. and the Lombard Communes. Tortona Destroyed.
1155. Frederick I. crowned Emperor at Rome.
1156. Austria made into a Duchy.
1157. Diet at Besançon.
1158-1162. Second Siege and Destruction of Milan.
1159. Papal Schism. Alexander III. Pope. Victor IV. anti-Pope.
1167. Formation of the Lombard League.
1168. Building of Alessandria.
1170. Murder of Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1173-1174. Revolt of the Sons of Henry II. of England, aided by Louis VII. of France.

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1176. Frederick I. defeated at Legnano by the Lombard League.
1177. Peace of Venice.
1180-1181. War between Frederick I. and Henry the Lion. Defeat and Exile of Henry. Death of Louis VII. of France. Accession of Philip II. Augustus.
1183. Peace of Constance between Frederick I. and the Lombard League.
1185. Return of Henry the Lion.
1186. Marriage of Henry, Son of Frederick I., to Constance, heiress of Sicily.
1187. Battle of Hattin. Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1188. Second Exile of Henry the Lion.
1189. The Third Crusade. Death of William the Good of Sicily. Reign of Tancred. Death of Henry II. of England.
1190. Frederick Barbarossa drowned on the Crusade in Asia Minor. Accession of Henry VI. Richard of England and Philip of France in Sicily.
1191. Conquest of Cyprus by Richard. Surrender of Acre. Return of Philip Augustus to France.
1192. Murder of Conrad of Montferrat, King of Jerusalem. Peace with Saladin. Capture of Richard Cœur de Lion by the Duke of Austria.
1193. Death of Saladin.
1195. Death of Henry the Lion.
1197. Severe Repression of the Sicilian Revolt by Henry VI. Death of Henry VI.
1198. Innocent III. Pope. Double Election in Germany of Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick. Death of Constance of Sicily. Frederick of Hohenstaufen the ward of the Pope.
1200-1204. The Fourth Crusade. Constantinople taken by the Latins.
1206. Genghiz Khan Emperor of the Mongols.
1208. Murder of Philip of Swabia. Beginning of the Albigensian Crusade.
1209. Otto IV. crowned Emperor at Rome.
1210. Quarrel between Innocent III. and Otto IV.
1211. Frederick of Hohenstaufen offered the German Throne by the enemies of Otto IV.
1212. Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. Defeat of the Moors by the Christians.
1213. Submission of John, King of England, to Innocent III. Battle of Muret: Defeat of the Albigenses.
1214. Battle of Bouvines.
1215. Magna Carta granted. Frederick I. crowned at Aachen and pledged to the Crusade.

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1216. Death of Innocent III. Honorius III. Pope.
1218. Death of Otto IV. Death of Simon de Montfort at the Siege of Toulouse.
1223. Death of Philip Augustus. Accession of Louis VIII.
1225. Marriage of Frederick II. and Yolande of Brienne.
1226. Renewal of the Lombard League. Death of Louis VIII. of France. Accession of Louis IX.
1227. Death of Honorious III. Frederick returns after starting on the Crusade and is Excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. Death of Genghiz Khan.
1228. The Crusade of the excommunicated Frederick II.
1229. Cession of Jerusalem by the Sultan of Egypt. Frederick crowns himself King of Jerusalem. Treaty of Meaux with the Count of Toulouse.
1231. Issue of Constitutions of Melfi for the Government of Sicily and *Statutum in favorem principum* for Germany.
1235. Repression of the Revolt of Henry, son of Frederick II. Marriage of Frederick II. with Isabella of England. Assembly of Mainz. War declared against the Lombard League.
1237. Battle of Cortenuova. The Lombard League defeated.
1239. Excommunication of Frederick II. by Gregory IX.
1241. Death of Gregory IX. Mongol Invasion of Russia, Poland, and Hungary.
1243. Innocent IV. Pope.
1244. End of the Albigensian Persecution.
1245. Council of Lyons. Frederick II. Excommunicated by Innocent IV.
1246. Henry Raspe, anti-King in Germany.
1247. William of Holland anti-King. Parma besieged by Frederick II.
1248-1249. First Crusade of Louis IX., or St Louis.
1249. Capture of Enzio, King of Sardinia, Son of Frederick II. Fall of Peter de la Vigne.
1250. Death of Frederick II. Accession of Conrad IV.
1252. Brancaleone, Senator of Rome.
1254. Excommunication and Death of Conrad IV. Henry III. of England accepts Sicily for his son Edmund. Death of Innocent IV.
1256. Death of William of Holland. Double Election of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile. The Great Interregnum.
1258. Manfred, son of Frederick II., crowned King of Sicily.
1260. Ghibeline Victory at Monteaperto.
1261. End of the Latin Empire of the East. Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople. The Sicilian Crown accepted by Charles of Anjou.
1266. Death of Manfred.

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1268. Battle of Tagliacozzo. Death of Conradin, son of Conrad IV. End of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty.
1270. Second Crusade and Death of Louis IX.
1272. Death of Richard of Cornwall.
1273. Rudolf of Habsburg crowned Emperor.

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LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
Europe, 10th Century	3
Germany under the Saxon and Salian Emperors .	24
The Norman Conquest of Southern Italy . .	37
France, 11th Century	42
Eastern Empire, 11th and 12th Centuries . .	70
North and Central Italy, 12th Century . .	162
Germany under the Hohenstaufen . . .	169
Italy under Innocent III.	177
Spain and Portugal, 11th-13th Centuries . .	244
The Empire in 1273	250

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THE CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE

918-1273

INTRODUCTION

Characteristics of the period, 918-1273

IN the year 918, on the death of Conrad of Franconia, king of the East-Franks or Germans, Henry, duke of the Saxons, was chosen to rule in his stead, the first of that line of Saxon monarchs who were destined to revive the Roman Empire in a new form, and to bind it closely to the German kingdom.

In the year 1273 Rudolf, Count of Habsburg, was raised to the Imperial throne, and the fortunes of the Empire were linked with those of the House of Austria.

Between these two dates lies the central period of the Middle Ages, a period of great ideas, great men and great movements, the time that saw the perfecting of the mediæval order of society, and the gradual building-up of the nations of the modern world from the ruins of the ancient Empire of Rome. The history of Europe from the early years of the tenth century to the close of the thirteenth century is full of interest, rich in records of splendid daring and romantic adventure, of living faith and high enthusiasm and unquestioning self-devotion. It is the history of a heroic period, the age of feudalism and monasticism, of chivalry and the Crusades, of the development of mediæval art and literature, and the organization of the mediæval University system. Above all, it is the age of the two institutions in which all these

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movements centred, the "foundation and the walls" of mediæval society, the Papacy, which represented the idea of a World-Church, and the Empire, which represented the idea of a World-State.

The tenth century opened with gloomy prospects for Western Christendom. The Empire of Charles the Great had long since fallen to pieces in the hands of his degenerate descendants, and the nations of modern Europe were but feebly struggling into life amidst the wrecks of past civilization. By 900 A.D. five kingdoms had formed themselves out of the Carolingian Empire:—the kingdom of the West-Franks, or France, the kingdom of the East-Franks, or Germany, Italy, and the two small kingdoms of Upper Burgundy, and Lower Burgundy, Arles, or Provence. Spain, which had never been fully conquered by Charles the Great, was under Moorish rule, save for the little Christian kingdoms of Leon, in the north-west, and Navarre, on the French frontier.

In England, the West-Saxon kings were winning back the country which the Danes had occupied in the previous century. In the far East, a Greek Emperor, ruling at Constantinople, claimed to be the true successor of the Cæsars. But he was not acknowledged by the kings of Western Europe, among whom the name of Emperor was bandied about as an empty title, which meant little or nothing, for neither Emperors nor kings could give peace and prosperity to their distracted dominions.

On every side danger threatened. From the North, the Scandinavian sea-rovers, the Danish and Norwegian Vikings, had swooped down out of their land of mist and storm on the fertile kingdoms of the south, and had won a permanent foothold in England, Ireland, and

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France. In the south, the Mediterranean Sea was beset by Saracen pirates. To the East were fierce tribes of Slavonic race, and, most terrible of all, the wandering hordes of Hungarians or Magyars, stunted, hideous, and cruel, who swept on their little ponies like a scourge over Germany, from the Danube to the Rhine, leaving devastation and ruin in their track. It was just in this time of peril that the rulers who should have guided and defended their people proved weak and helpless, while the nobles, instead of combining to repel the barbarous invaders, fought and quarrelled with one another, and oppressed the peasants and townsfolk. Poor men gave up their freedom and became the dependents of powerful lords for the sake of protection. Rich and strong men ruled like petty kings over their vassals and tenants. Even the Church was corrupt, and the Papacy itself was a prey to faction.

Such was the Europe of the early tenth century. But the darkest hour comes just before the dawn, and already there were signs that a new and better social order was about to replace the lawless confusion that had accompanied the breaking-up of the Frankish Empire of Charles the Great.

Authorities

Church : The Beginning of the Middle Ages.

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CHAPTER I

THE SAXON EMPERORS [918-1002]

Conrad I. of Franconia, 911-918

WHEN, in 911, the young King of Germany, Louis the Child, died, the German nobles chose one of themselves, Conrad of Franconia, to rule over them. Seven years later, in the winter of 918, as Conrad lay on his death-bed, he owned that the task he had undertaken had been beyond his strength. Calling his brother to his side, he bade him, says a contemporary chronicler, carry the insignia of royalty, the holy lance, the mantle and golden bracelets, the sword and crown, to his great rival, Henry, duke of the Saxons. "Fortune," murmured the dying man, "has passed over to Henry. He will be King and Emperor of many peoples." Thus it was that "the noble kingdom of the Franks was transferred to the glorious nation of the Saxons," and thus the Saxon duke became the German king. Later legend gave him the name of "Henry the Fowler," and told how the offer of the crown was made to him as he snared birds with his children. Stories were current, too, of his prowess in battle, which show that his memory lingered long among his Saxon people. Germany was, indeed, in evil case, and Henry was just the man she needed—strong, young, and brave, fitted to lead in war and to rule in peace. Slavs and Magyars were threatening the Eastern frontier, Vikings were hovering about the North-Western coast, while within, the East-Frankish kingdom had split up

Henry I. the Fowler, 918-936

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into four great duchies or "nations," Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria, governed by dukes who were kings in all but name. Lotharingia, or Lorraine, which afterwards became a fifth German duchy, formed, at this time, part of the dominions of the West-Frankish king.

A twofold problem lay before Henry—the defence of the kingdom against external enemies, and the suppression of the overgrown power of the nobles at home. His reign falls into three divisions—five years of struggle with the dukes; a Magyar invasion in 924, followed by a nine-years' truce, during which the consolidation of Germany went on apace; then, from 933 to 936, three years of fighting with Magyars and Danes, ending in glorious victory.

In the spring of 919 Henry was elected by the nobles King of the "Franks and Saxons." The dukes of Swabia and Bavaria submitted within the next three years, and by 921 Henry was acknowledged as "King of the East-Franks." But, except in Saxony and Thuringia, his sovereignty was little more than nominal. The dukes still ruled their provinces like independent princes. They had their own courts of justice, their own armies, and their special privileges, and Arnulf of Bavaria had even won the royal right of appointing bishops. When in 924 the Magyars invaded and harried Saxony, only the Franks and Saxons rallied round the king. But by releasing one of the barbarian leaders who had fallen into his hands, and paying a heavy tribute, Henry bought a nine-years' truce for his duchy.

Like King Alfred of England in similar circumstances, he used the time of peace to prepare for war. The country lay open to invasion, for the Germans were an agricultural people, who hated cities, and lived in unprotected villages

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and farms. Henry then set himself to restore old defences, and to build new towns and fortresses, especially on the eastern frontier, to serve as places of refuge in case of need. He bade the monks surround their monasteries with walls. He attracted the peasants to the towns by ordaining that all meetings and feasts should be held there, and the Saxon chronicler describes how every ninth man of the farmers who owed military service had to live in a town, to build houses for his eight comrades, and to receive and store up the third part of the harvest, while his fellows tilled his land in his absence.

The army also was made more efficient. The Magyars were lightly-armed, swiftly-moving horsemen, against whom the undisciplined Saxon foot-soldiers could do little, while the cavalry levies of great men and their followers were more used to fighting amongst themselves than to uniting against a common foe. Henry now greatly strengthened his cavalry force, and trained his troops to act in combination. The events of the next few years proved his wisdom. Lotharingia submitted in 925. In 928 he defeated the Wends and took their stronghold Brennabor (Brandenburg), while in 929 he subdued Bohemia, and crushed a formidable Wendish revolt in the battle of Lenzen. By the year 932 the land between Elbe and Oder owned the East-Frankish king as lord.

When in 933 the truce ended, and the Magyars once more invaded Saxony, Henry, with his trained horsemen, won a decisive victory over them. The following year saw the defeat of the Danish king, and the establishment of the "march" or frontier-province of Schleswig.

In 936 Henry died, after commending his eldest son, Otto, to the nobles as his successor. A simple slab of marble marks his grave at Quedlinburg. His best epitaph

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is found in the words of the Saxon historians, who tell how he was the father of his country (*pater patriæ*) and gave his kingdom welcome peace.

Otto I. the Great, 936-973

"Henry I. was the greatest of the kings of Europe, second to none in strength of mind and body, but he left a son who was greater than he." With the accession of Otto I. the horizon widens. It was his hand which, for good or ill, united Germany and Italy. His long reign culminates in 962, in his coronation as Emperor at Rome. From 936 to 951 he was engaged in carrying on the task bequeathed to him by his father, guarding Germany from barbarian attacks, strengthening the eastern frontier, and building up a strong monarchy at home. This was his "German period." It was followed by an "Italian period," lasting from 951 to 973, when this work was interrupted by the development of the Italian question, which distracted his energies and occupied his thoughts for the remainder of his life.

Otto I.'s splendid coronation at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) the old Carolingian capital, was significant of his future policy. He was chosen king by the nobles, with the assent of the people, but he was crowned and anointed with holy oil, and took his seat on the throne of Charles the Great, and at the coronation feast the dukes of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria and Lorraine served him as steward, butler, marshal and chamberlain. He showed from the first that he meant to be a king indeed, and to keep the dukes in strict subordination. The problem which confronted Otto I. was the same which all the kings of mediæval Europe were called upon to solve, the problem of establishing a strong government without giving undue power to the great nobles. Otto I.'s policy towards the dukes was threefold: direct suppression;

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indirect alliance, by granting the duchies to his own nominees or to members of the royal house; substitution of other powers, in particular of the power of the Church, for the nobles in the work of governing the country.

The first to be dealt with was Eberhard, Duke of Franconia, the brother of King Conrad. Humbled in his pride by being punished for a breach of the king's peace, he joined with Otto's illegitimate brother Thankmar in open revolt. Thankmar fell in the struggle, but the following year saw Eberhard again in rebellion, supported by the Duke of Lorraine and by Otto's discontented younger brother Henry. Otto took the field, the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine were slain, and Henry submitted, only to plot against his brother's life once more, to be once more forgiven, and finally to be endowed with the duchy of Bavaria on the death of the duke his father-in-law, and to become the loyal subject of the king who had known how to be merciful to a fallen foe. Franconia Otto kept under his immediate rule; the Swabian duchy, with the hand of its heiress, he bestowed on his eldest son Liudolf, and Lorraine he entrusted to Conrad the Red, who afterwards married his daughter Liutgarde.

Otto further checked the dukes by the appointment of *Pfalzgrafen*, or Counts Palatine, royal officials who represented the king's interests in the duchies. To guard against the Danes, Slavs and Magyars, who began to stir restlessly on the death of Henry I., he also established *Markgrafen* or Marquises, Counts of the Marches or borderlands, of whom the most famous were Hermann the Billung, whose march stretched from the Bay of Kiel to the mouth of the Oder, and Gero, who ruled to the south of him. Later on, the eastern frontier was defended

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by a line of marches—the Billung March, the North March, and the Marches of Lausitz, Merseburg, Zeitz and Meissen, extending from Elbe to Oder. South of these lay the Slav duchy of Bohemia, which was finally subdued in 950, and the duchy of Bavaria, whence Otto's brother Henry watched the Bohemians, and drove back the incursions of the Magyars or Hungarians, now settled on the Danube in the land which was called after them Hungary.

Another check on the power of the nobles, and a help in the restoration of internal unity, was found in the influence of the Church. A wave of religious enthusiasm was at this time sweeping over Germany. Missions to the heathen Slavs were started, bishoprics were founded, monasteries and nunneries were endowed and reformed. The king's mother Matilda, his English wife Edith, daughter of Edward the Elder, and, above all, his youngest brother Bruno, were in the forefront of this movement. Bruno was a man of saintly life, an ardent student, who never travelled without his books, of whom it was said that "in his times of leisure no man was busier, in the midst of business he always found leisure." Himself a priest, and, like St Dunstan of England, both churchman and statesman, he revived and developed the system of education which Charles the Great had established in Germany, and reorganized the king's chancery or chapel, which became a kind of training-school for royal ministers and officials.

By the middle of the tenth century Otto I. was unquestionably the greatest prince of western Europe. The French king sought his help; the English king was his ally; the eastern Emperor and the Moors of Spain sent him gifts and embassies. His court was a refuge for the

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weak and oppressed, and when trouble arose in Italy it seemed but fitting that he should intervene.

Italy in the Tenth Century

While Germany had been developing into a united kingdom, the fair Italian provinces across the mountain-barrier of the Alps were torn by civil strife and wasted by Saracen and Magyar raids. "The Italians," wrote one of their own chroniclers, "always wish to have two masters, that they may play one off against the other." Of the three powers which might have given a strong goverment to Italy—the Papacy, the Eastern Empire, and the great nobles—the Popes were the tools of the Roman aristocracy; the Greek subjects of the Eastern Emperor in the south could barely hold their own against the Saracens, who had conquered Sicily, and constantly threatened the peninsula; the nobles, engaged in struggling amongst themselves for the royal crown of Lombardy and the imperial dignity, frustrated each attempt at national union by their jealous rivalries. Early in the tenth century Berengar, Marquis of Friuli, became Emperor, and seemed about to establish a national kingship, but he was murdered in 924, and the imperial title fell into abeyance. Rudolf II., King of Upper Burgundy, then ruled as King of Italy till 926, when he was succeeded by Hugh, King of Lower Burgundy, or Provence. Hugh bought off Rudolf's opposition by ceding the whole of Burgundy to him. He married his son to Rudolf's daughter, and he obtained a foothold in Rome by himself marrying Marozia, widow of the Marquis of Tuscany, by whose influence the Papal elections had long been controlled, and whose son now sat in the Chair of St Peter as Pope John XI. But Marozia's elder son, Alberic, quarrelled with his stepfather, imprisoned his mother and brother, and made himself master of

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Rome, as "Prince and Senator of all the Romans"; while in the north Hugh's tyranny raised up a rival, Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, a grandson of the Emperor Berengar. When Hugh died in 947, and was followed to the grave three years later by his young son, Lothair, Berengar and his son Adalbert were crowned joint-kings of Italy at Pavia, the old Lombard capital. Lothair left a girl-widow, Adelaide, daughter of Rudolf of Burgundy. Jealous of her claims and influence, Berengar imprisoned and ill-treated her. Her youth, her beauty, and the lure of the Italian crown were not slow to win her champions. Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, the son of Otto I., were eager to come to her rescue. Liudolf was the first in the field, but a stronger hand was destined to carry off the prize.

Otto I.'s first Italian Expedition, 951

In the autumn of 951 Otto I. crossed the Alps and entered Pavia. Berengar fled before him. Adelaide, who had escaped from captivity after many adventures, joined her deliverer in the capital; and there Otto, whose English wife had died some years earlier, married her, and received the homage of the Italian nobles. He then sent ambassadors to the Pope to negotiate for the restoration of the Empire, but Alberic was still all-powerful in Rome, and Otto was forbidden to enter the city. In the following year a peace was made, by which Berengar received back the Italian kingdom, with Otto as over-lord, while the March of Verona and Aquileia was granted to Henry of Bavaria.

Revolt of Liudolf of Swabia and Conrad of Lorraine, 953

During the next few years Otto was fully occupied with the affairs of Germany. His son Liudolf of Swabia, and his son-in-law Conrad of Lorraine, dissatisfied with the results of the Italian campaign, rebelled against him, in concert with the turbulent Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz

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(Mayence); and though Henry of Bavaria remained loyal, his subjects revolted under the son of their former duke, while the Hungarians took advantage of the confusion to invade the German dominions. Otto, supported by his brothers and by Hermann Billung, rose to the occasion. His foes were divided among themselves, and by 954 they had all submitted. Conrad and Liudolf were condemned to lose their duchies, and Otto fell back on the policy of using churchmen as a counterpoise to the power of the great nobles. Bruno, now Archbishop of Cologne, was practically supreme in Lorraine, and Otto's illegitimate son William became Archbishop of Mainz on the death of the traitor Frederick. In the Church Otto found well-educated and pious men, trained administrators, whose local attachments were less strong than those of the laity; and who, since they were unmarried, were free from the temptation to found a family and make their offices hereditary.

Battle of the Lechfeld, Aug. 10, 955

In 955 the Hungarians, encouraged by the discord in Germany, made a formidable incursion into Bavaria. Otto gathered his forces, and on August 10, in the famous battle of the Lechfeld, he crushed the heathen invaders once and for all. Not for two hundred years, it was said, had so great a victory been gained. It was followed, before the close of the year, by the suppression of a rising among the Wends of the north; and, triumphant and secure in his German kingdom, Otto could once more dream of Italy and of Empire.

Alberic had died in 954, bequeathing his temporal power in Rome to his son Octavian, who, in the following year, was elected to the papal throne, and took the name of John XII. Young, ambitious and worldly, John XII. soon found his schemes for extending the papal authority

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in central Italy thwarted by the growing tyranny of King Berengar, who, in Otto's absence, ruled as an irresponsible despot. In 956, Liudolf of Swabia led an expedition against the Italian king and took Pavia, but his premature death in 957 enabled Berengar to regain his former position, and so oppressive was his government that in 960 urgent appeals for help were sent to Otto I. by the Pope and by the prelates and nobles of Northern Italy.

Otto I.'s Second Italian Expedition, 961

Otto arranged for the administration of his kingdom in his absence, saw his little son and namesake elected and crowned King of the Germans; and then, crossing the Brenner Pass with a great army, he marched unopposed through Pavia to Rome, and on February 2, 962, with his Queen, Adelaide, received the Imperial crown from the hands of Pope John XII. He confirmed to the Papal See the territory granted to it by the Carolingian Emperors, but the Pope had to swear fealty to the Emperor, and Otto made it clear that he regarded the Empire as supreme over the Papacy. He now turned to the task of subduing Berengar and Adalbert, who had taken refuge in their mountain strongholds. Hardly had he left Rome when John XII. treacherously allied himself with Adalbert against the Emperor. Otto hastened back to Rome. The citizens submitted, and renounced their right of electing Popes without the imperial sanction. John XII. was summoned before a synod, accused of murder, perjury, sacrilege, and other grievous crimes, and formally deposed, and the Emperor approved the election of a new Pope, Leo VIII., in his stead. But the next year (964) the fickle Romans veered round once more—John XII. was restored and Leo VIII. was deposed in his turn. When, in May 964, John XII. died suddenly, the Romans,

Otto I. crowned Emperor at Rome, Feb. 2, 962

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without consulting the Emperor, elected Benedict V. as Pope. The imperial troops thereupon invested Rome, and starved it into submission. Benedict V. was degraded, Leo VIII. was reinstated, while the citizens swore fealty to Pope and Emperor. With the exile of Berengar, Otto's victory was complete, and he returned in triumph to Germany. The coronation of Otto I. as Emperor at Rome stands out as one of the turning-points in mediæval history, because it marked the foundation of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and began that intimate connexion between Germany and Italy which lasted until the nineteenth century. Yet to Otto's contemporaries the full importance of the event remained hidden. To them it probably seemed natural enough that the illustrious ruler of Germany should follow in the steps of his most famous predecessor, and, like a second Charles the Great, cross the Alps to win the Lombard kingdom, to defend and reform the Papacy, and to revive the Western Empire.

Otto I.'s Third Italian Expedition, 966

Otto's first Italian campaign had given him the Lombard kingdom of the North; his second had made him master of Rome, the very heart and centre of Italy; his third expedition, in 966, brought him into connexion with the Greek lands in the south of the peninsula. He restored Pope John XIII., Leo VIII.'s successor, whom the Romans had banished, made an alliance with the Lombard prince of Capua, and, after a long struggle with the Greeks of Apulia and Calabria, knit together East and West by marrying his son Otto, who had been crowned as joint-Emperor on Christmas day 967, to Theophano, a princess of the imperial house of Constantinople. This was the last achievement of Otto I.'s long reign. In 973 he died in his native Saxony, and was buried by the side of his

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first wife, Edith, in the cathedral of Magdeburg, the seat of the archbishopric which he had founded as a mission-centre for the newly conquered Slav tribes. Alone among German Emperors the first Otto won the title of "Great," alike from his contemporaries and from those who came after him. His people long remembered his noble presence, his sleepless energy, his dignity, gaiety, and generosity. "Since Charles the Great," wrote a Saxon bishop, "no such ruler or defender of his country has occupied the royal chair."

Otto II., 973-983

Otto I.'s brothers, Henry and Bruno, his son William, Archbishop of Mainz, and his faithful servant Hermann Billung, had all preceded him to the grave, and a new generation gathered about the young King-Emperor Otto "The Red" and his Greek wife. Otto II., brought up under the influence of imperial ideas, was resolved to develop his father's policy of close union between Germany and Italy, and to extend the German dominion over the southern Italian provinces. Already, however, the dangers of that policy were becoming apparent, and Otto's short reign was a ceaseless struggle with overwhelming difficulties. In Germany the old spirit of discontent revived in the duchies. Henry the Quarrelsome, son of Henry of Bavaria, revolted against the Emperor, in alliance with the dukes of Bohemia and Poland. Lorraine, now divided into two duchies, intrigued with France, and the Danes invaded Saxony. The Emperor banished Henry the Quarrelsome, and gave his duchy to his own nephew, Otto of Swabia. He further weakened Bavaria by carving two independent marches out of its territory, the *Nordgau* and the East Mark, afterwards Austria, and by forming the new duchy of Carinthia from the marches of Verona and Carinthia.

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He subdued Bohemia and Poland, repulsed the Danes, and avenged the French king's interference in Lorraine by marching on Paris. But seven years had passed before he had restored order to Germany, and was free to carry out his Italian projects.

Otto II.'s Italian Expedition, 980

Since the death of Otto I. the Saracens had overrun Southern Italy, and Rome had been torn by faction. One Pope had been murdered, another was in exile, and the government of the city had fallen into the hands of Crescentius, an ambitious noble, who aimed at reviving the power of Alberic. Yet when, in 980, Otto II. came down into Italy, all bowed before his imperial authority. The Pope was re-established in Rome, Crescentius retired to a monastery, the Lombard princes of the South made terms with the Emperor, and in 982 the Saracens were defeated in a great battle near Colonne, in Calabria. Unfortunately, this success was followed by a heavy reverse. On the homeward march the Saracens suddenly fell upon the imperial army and cut it to pieces. The flower of German chivalry was left upon the field, and the Emperor himself only escaped as by a miracle. Nothing daunted, Otto II. prepared for a fresh campaign. An Assembly, or Diet, was held at Verona, which marked the reality of the union between Germany and Italy, for German and Italian magnates sat side by side, and together elected as their future king the little Otto, the Emperor's three-year-old son. Full of plans for the conquest of Southern Italy from Greek and Saracen, Otto II. returned to Rome. But mortal illness seized him, and he died on 7th December 983, at the early age of twenty-eight, leaving a young widow and a baby son to bear the burden of empire. His body was laid to rest in the Church of St Peter at

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Rome. The city of his hopes could only give him a grave.

Otto III., the Wonder of the World, 983-1002

The minority of Otto III. showed how much still depended on the personal rule of the German king. No sooner did the reins of government fall into the weak hands of a child than the old local dissensions broke out afresh. Yet the work of the founders of the Empire had not been entirely in vain. The union of Germany and Italy stood firm; the hereditary principle, asserted by the coronation of Otto II. and Otto III. in the lifetime of their fathers, was strengthened by the accession of a child-king, and the ecclesiastical policy of Otto I. bore fruit in the support given by the Church to the tottering throne of his grandson.

Scarcely had the young king been crowned at Aachen when a struggle over the regency began. Henry the Quarrelsome reappeared on the scene; claimed, as nearest male kinsman, to rule in Otto's name, and even put forward pretensions to the crown on his own behalf. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland, on the eastern frontier, and the king of the French, to the west, were ready to take advantage of the divided state of Germany, while in the north the Wends shook off the German yoke and abjured the Christian faith. Chiefly owing to the loyalty of the Saxons and Franconians, led by Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, Henry the Quarrelsome was forced to yield, and to entrust the guardianship of the king to his mother, Theophano, though he was invested once more with the Bavarian duchy.

When Theophano died, in 991, the government of the kingdom passed to the young king's grandmother, Adelaide, and a council of nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, including the great dukes, Eckhard, the brave margrave

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or marquis of Meissen, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and, most influential of all, Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, the Arch-Chancellor of Germany, a peasant's son, to whom the Church had opened a career. These men ruled and defended Germany through five troubled years of Slav rebellion and Viking invasion, until in 996 Otto III., now nearly fifteen, was declared of age, and took upon himself the responsibilities of his great inheritance.

Personal Government of Otto III., 996-1002

The story of the six years of Otto III.'s personal government is one of the saddest in all mediæval history—a story of disappointed hope and unfulfilled promise. Trained by Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim in all the learning of the time, the brilliant and gifted boy-king, who was afterwards to be known as "the Wonder of the World," must have felt that he was born to greatness. The son of Otto II. and the Greek Theophano could hardly fail to cherish imperial ideals; the pupil of Bernward and Archbishop Willigis could not but be touched by the religious spirit of the age. When, in 996, Otto III. marched into Italy, he came as the defender of both Church and State, the restorer alike of Papacy and of Empire.

First Italian Expedition, 996

During the minority the Papacy had sunk into the lowest depths of degradation. Weak, ignorant, and vicious, the Popes had forfeited all claims to respect, while in the city of Rome, John, a son of Crescentius, ruled arbitrarily with the title of Patrician, and in Southern Italy the Greeks had reasserted their authority. It was partly in response to an appeal from the reigning Pope, John XV., that Otto III. crossed the Alps in 996, but he was met on the way by messengers from Rome bringing news of the Pope's death, and a request that he would name a successor. With the nomination of Otto's

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kinsman Bruno, a pupil of Willigis of Mainz, began the first German reform of the Papacy. On 3rd May 996 Bruno was raised to the papal chair as Gregory V., the first of the German Popes. On 21st May he anointed and crowned Otto III. Emperor at Rome. "The widows and the poor rejoiced," wrote a contemporary Roman, "for the new Emperor and the new Pope gave justice once more to the people." Crescentius was deprived of his power, and Otto returned in peace to Germany.

Coronation of Otto III. as Emperor, 21st May 996

Second Italian Expedition, 998

The Emperor had not long withdrawn when the partisans of Crescentius drove Gregory V. out of Rome and set up an anti-pope. In 998 Otto III. entered Rome for the second time, restored Gregory V., and seized and executed Crescentius. When, in the following year, Gregory V. died suddenly, the Emperor chose as his successor the famous Gerbert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name of Sylvester II. Gerbert was one of the most noteworthy men of his time. A Frenchman by birth, he was educated in a monastery at his native place, Aurillac in Auvergne, and so great was his skill in natural science and mathematics that later ages saw in him a magician, in league with the devil. He taught in the cathedral school of Rheims, and was brought under the notice of Otto I. Otto II. made him Abbot of Bobbio in Italy, but the unruly monks drove him out, and he returned to France to take an active part in raising Hugh Capet to the French throne (see chap. iii.). He became Archbishop of Rheims, and after Hugh Capet's death, when he was deprived of his see (see p. 48), Otto III. summoned him to his court and gave him the archbishopric of Ravenna. With such a man as Pope, a man steeped in the knowledge of the past, yet full of ambitious schemes for the future, and exercising a powerful

Sylvester II., 999-1003

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influence over the mind of a young and ardent Emperor, it might well seem as if the golden days of the Empire were about to return. It was not by chance that Gerbert called himself Sylvester II. The first Pope Sylvester had been the trusted and honoured adviser of the first Christian Emperor Constantine, and Gerbert aimed at being "the new Sylvester of a new Constantine." It was he who encouraged Otto III., "Greek by birth, Roman by imperial power," to dream of the restoration of the ancient glory of Rome. "Spare not our Saxon rusticity," wrote Otto to Gerbert, "cultivate in us Greek subtlety." Otto now revived the old Roman customs and added to them much of Greek ceremonial and splendour. He used the title of "Emperor of the Romans" (*Imperator Romanorum*), and his seal was inscribed with the legend, "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum" (*Renewal of the Empire of the Romans*). He revived the Roman offices of Patrician and Prefect, and aimed at restoring the Roman Senate. He built himself a palace at Rome, on the Aventine Hill, and introduced new high-sounding Greek titles at his court. Yet in all his dreams and projects he thought and worked as a Christian Emperor, in close harmony with the Pope. He called himself "Servant of the Apostles," "Servant of Jesus Christ," and he sought to advance the Empire by firmly establishing the Church of God. He would often turn from the pomp of court life to humble himself with fasting and penance, or to go on pilgrimage to holy places. Meanwhile he relaxed his hold on his northern dominions, and abandoned Otto I.'s policy of consolidation. He freed Poland from tribute, and founded a Polish archbishopric. He allowed Hungary to become a kingdom under Stephen, its first Christian ruler. He thus encouraged

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that growth of independent nationalities and national churches which afterwards did much to prevent the union of Germany, while his Italian policy alienated the German nobles and his ecclesiastical policy offended the German bishops.

Third Italian Expedition, 1000

In the year 1000, after a hasty visit to Germany, the Emperor set out for Italy for the third and last time. On his way southward he entered the tomb of Charles the Great at Aachen, and gazed, it is said, on the body of the Emperor, sitting enthroned, as in life, with a gold crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand. Less than two years later Otto himself was borne across the snowy Alps to be laid beside the first Frankish Emperor in the capital of the East-Frankish kings.

He returned to Italy, only to find the country restless and disturbed. The South had thrown off his overlordship, a rebellion had broken out at Tivoli, close to Rome, and no sooner was this quelled than Rome itself rose against the Emperor. With bitter words Otto reproached the ungrateful citizens. "Are you my Romans," he cried, "for whose sake I have left my fatherland and my kinsmen, whom I have preferred to my own blood, my Saxons and Germans? You have rejected your father, you have cruelly slain my friends, you have shut me out from your midst." Moved to tears, the Romans submitted, yet Otto thought it wiser to retire to Ravenna, where he tried to strengthen himself by alliances with Constantinople and with the rising sea power of Venice. But this was not to be. On 24th January 1002, as he marched southward from Ravenna, he died of fever at Paterno, within sight of Rome. On the news of his death Italy openly revolted, and his funeral procession had to fight its way to Verona. Pope Sylvester II. did not long survive his

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pupil; he died on 12th May 1003, and with his death peace was said to vanish from the earth and the Church to fall into confusion.

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CHAPTER II

THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE EMPIRE FROM THE SAXONS TO THE SALIANS [1002-1056]

Henry II. the Saint, 1002-1024

WITH Otto III. ended the direct male line of the Saxon house, and Germany was exposed to the dangers of a disputed succession. The three chief candidates for the vacant throne were Henry, Duke of Bavaria, son of Henry the Quarrelsome, like Otto III. a great-grandson of Henry the Fowler (see Table I.), Eckhard of Meissen, and Hermann, Duke of Swabia. Though Henry had hereditary right on his side, Eckhard had served his country well, and the hereditary principle of succession was not as yet generally accepted. Henry, on the other hand, was supported by the Bavarians and by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, and when Eckhard of Meissen was murdered by his private enemies, the comparatively weak opposition of Hermann of Swabia was easily overcome. On 2nd June 1002 Henry II. was anointed and crowned at Mainz by Archbishop Willigis; the Saxons did homage to him at Merseburg, and the men of Lorraine at Aachen. Before the end of the year he was undisputed king of Germany. But old tribal distinctions revived when each duchy in turn acknowledged the new king, and Henry only won general recognition by lavish promises and concessions to his subjects. It was said by a contemporary of Otto III. that he had attempted a great but impossible task—to restore the Roman Empire to its ancient glory.

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With the accession of Henry II. a practical man of action replaced a dreamer and idealist on the German throne. Far-reaching imperial schemes were abandoned, but less ambitious projects were carried out successfully. If Henry II. aimed lower than Otto III., he hit the mark more frequently. The fruits of Otto's policy were at once seen in the rise of a formidable Slav power on the eastern German frontier, where the duchy of Poland was rapidly developing under the able rule of Boleslav Chabry, who, in the hope of founding an independent kingdom, had made himself master of Bohemia and had formed alliances with the discontented German nobles. Though in 1005 Henry II. won back Bohemia and forced the proud Polish duke to acknowledge the German overlordship, two years later Boleslav again revolted, and only in 1013 consented to make terms with the king. Even then he did not keep his promises, and in 1015 war was renewed, to be ended, in 1018, by the Peace of Bautzen, by which Boleslav gained the march of Lausitz, but remained a vassal of the German crown.

Subjugation of Poland, 1005-1018

Meanwhile Italy also seemed about to break the German connexion and to form an independent state under Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, who was recognized as king by the Lombard nobles early in 1002. When, however, in 1004, Henry II. entered Pavia, many of the bishops and nobles rallied to him, and chose him king, and he received the crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan. If he could have remained in Italy, he might have established his authority, but he was recalled to Germany, and in his absence Ardoin regained his influence in Lombardy, and John Crescentius, "the destroyer of the Apostolic See," ruled as "Patrician" in Rome, where three Popes in succession bowed before his power. When Crescentius

First Italian Expedition, 1004

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died in 1012, Benedict VIII., a member of the rival house of Tusculum, became Pope. The Crescentian party appointed an anti-pope, and both appealed to Henry II. He espoused the cause of Benedict VIII., came down into Italy, received Ardoin's submission, and on February 14, 1013, was anointed and crowned Emperor at Rome. A rising of the turbulent Romans followed the coronation, and when the Emperor left Italy Ardoin rebelled and had once more to be subdued. In 1021 Henry II. visited Italy for the third time. The southern provinces were distracted by Saracen invasions and revolts against the Greek dominion, while already the Normans, the future conquerors of the South, had appeared in the peninsula. Early in 1022 the imperial army marched south in three divisions, led by the Archbishop of Cologne, the Patriarch of Aquileia, and Henry himself, accompanied by Pope Benedict VIII. The princes of Capua, Salerno, and Naples submitted, and the town of Troja was taken from the Greeks. Then heat and increasing sickness among the troops compelled Henry to retreat. He returned to Germany, never to see Italy again. In July 1024, shortly after the death of Pope Benedict VIII., the Emperor also ended his laborious life, and was buried in the cathedral of Bamberg, the new bishopric which he had founded in Franconia. His last years were occupied with questions of Church reform, and later legends have transformed the stern cautious statesman into a lame and sickly devotee, a mere "king of the priests," while in the twelfth century he and his pious Queen Cunigunde were formally canonized as saints of the Roman Church.

Second Italian Expedition, 1013

Henry II. crowned Emperor, Feb. 14, 1013

Third Italian Expedition, 1021

Death of Henry II. 1024

A truer picture of the last Saxon Emperor is found in a contemporary drawing, which shows Henry II. enthroned

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and crowned, with orb and sceptre, supported by two ecclesiastics on the right hand and by two warriors on the left, as if he held the balance between Church and State, while figures representing the nations of Europe:— Rome, Gaul, Germany and "Sclavinia," the land of the Slavs, approach him with awe and offer him gifts. Though a deeply religious man, he did not scruple to use the Church for political ends, to check and balance the threatening power of the lay nobles. His first thought and care was for Germany, and for the maintenance of German supremacy in Europe. Otto III.'s seal bore the motto, "Renewal of the Empire of the Romans" (*Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*); Henry II.'s seal was, it is said, inscribed with the words "Renewal of the kingdom of the Franks" (*Renovatio regni Francorum*). He restored peace to his people: he held together the restless provinces of his vast Empire, and he handed on to his successors, unimpaired and even consolidated, the imperial heritage of the Ottos.

Conrad II., the Salic, 1024-1039

On the death of the childless Henry II. the German prelates and nobles met at Kamba on the Rhine to elect a new king. The choice fell on the Franconian Conrad, a great-grandson of Conrad the Red and Liutgarde, daughter of Otto I. (see Table I.). Conrad was a man of tried courage and experience; his wife was Gisela, the beautiful and wealthy daughter of Hermann Duke of Swabia. He had the support of Aribo Archbishop of Mainz, and of the majority of the magnates: only the Archbishop of Cologne and the Dukes of Upper and Lower Lorraine stood aloof. He was crowned at Mainz on September 8, 1024, amidst the acclamations of the people. "They could not have rejoiced more," wrote Conrad's biographer, "if Charles the Great had come

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amongst them." The Archbishop of Cologne now submitted, and Conrad and Gisela entered Aachen in triumph, Thus the crown of Germany passed from the Saxons back to the Franks. Yet the change of dynasty did not carry with it a change of policy. Conrad II. was no mere 'king of the barons," content to be only a little more powerful than the great nobles, who thought themselves his equals. He had a high conception of the royal and imperial office, and was so worthy a successor of the first Frankish Emperor that the saying became current: "Charles the Great's stirrups hang from Conrad's saddle." His first thought was to win the imperial crown. A dangerous conspiracy of the dukes of Lorraine, the king's step-son Ernest of Swabia, his cousin "the younger Conrad," who had competed with him for the throne, and King Robert of France, was discovered and defeated. A treaty with Cnut, King of England and Denmark, secured the northern frontier, and early in 1026 Conrad II. crossed the Alps, and was crowned King of Italy at Milan by Archbishop Aribert, who in 1025 had come to Germany to implore the king to intervene in Italian affairs. After Henry II.'s death Pavia revolted and the Lombard nobles offered the crown of Italy first to the French king, and then to the son of the powerful Duke William of Aquitaine. But the bishops stood firm in their allegiance, and the king's personal energy carried all before it. One by one the nobles and cities submitted, and on March 26, 1027 the Pope crowned Conrad II. Emperor at Rome in the presence of two kings, Rudolf III. of Burgundy and Cnut of England. The Papacy had shaken off the Crescentian tyranny only to become the hereditary possession of the Counts of Tusculum. Benedict VIII. had been succeeded by his brother, John XIX.,

First Italian Expedition, 1026

Coronation of Conrad II. as Emperor, March 26, 1027

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"Senator of all the Romans," a layman who was ordained in order to become Pope. At first inclined towards an alliance with the Eastern Emperor, he finally decided to maintain friendly relations with Germany. The Lombard princes of Benevento, Capua and Salerno also, who had been negotiating with the Greeks, made their peace with Conrad, when, after his coronation, he visited the southern provinces. Having thus confirmed peace throughout Italy, the Emperor returned to Germany, to find Ernest of Swabia and his adherents in open revolt. Only the refusal of the Swabian vassals to follow their duke against their liege lord the king enabled Conrad to stamp out the rebellion. When Ernest of Swabia continued unruly he was outlawed and fled to the Black Forest, where in 1030 he was slain by a band of royal vassals. With his death, internal peace was restored to the German kingdom.

In 1028, the fifth year of Conrad's reign, his power seemed to reach its height with the coronation at Aachen of his little son Henry as King of Germany. Yet five years of intermittent warfare with Hungary and Poland were to follow before, in 1033, the warlike Polish duke, Miesco, son of Boleslav Chabry, who claimed to be a king, was forced to own Conrad's supremacy, and to receive his duchy, shorn of its western territory, to be held as a fief of the German crown. Peace had been made with Hungary in 1031, and while the German overlordship was thus reasserted on the eastern frontier, a new kingdom was added in the south-west to the Roman Empire of the German Nation. Rudolf III., the childless King of Burgundy, had promised the succession to his dominions to Henry II., his sister's son. He renewed the treaty with Conrad II., whose wife Gisela was his niece, and when

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he died in 1032, Conrad claimed the kingdom. Odo, Count of Champagne, another of Rudolf's nephews, opposed him, and found support in the lower or French portions of Burgundy. Conrad strengthened himself by an alliance with Henry I., the new King of France, and in 1033 he was elected and crowned King of Burgundy. Though he was very generally accepted in German Burgundy, the struggle with Odo of Champagne continued till 1034, when the French districts at length yielded, and Conrad wore the Burgundian crown in state at Geneva, and received the homage of the nobles. The acquisition of Burgundy, the most important "passage-land" of Europe, gave Germany the command of the Rhone valley and the western Alpine passes. It thus secured the Italian frontier, and placed a buffer-state between Germany and France, while it assured the ascendancy of the German race in Europe.

The first five years of Conrad II.'s reign were spent in establishing his dynasty: in the next five years he had consolidated and extended his Empire: his last five years saw him engaged in the assertion of the superiority of the temporal over the spiritual power. The Papacy reached its lowest pitch of humiliation when, on the death of John XIX. in 1033, his nephew Benedict IX., a boy of twelve years old, became Pope. Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, had long aimed at building up a great ecclesiastical power in northern Italy, with Milan as its centre. In the weakness of the Papacy he saw his opportunity. But so oppressive was his rule that the lesser nobles rebelled against him, and Lombardy was once more a scene of civil strife. In 1037 the Emperor came down into Italy for the second time and held a Council at Pavia. When Aribert bore himself arrogantly

Second Italian Expedition, 1037, and death of Conrad II. 1039

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and refused to obey the King's commands, Conrad imprisoned him without a trial. He escaped, fled to Milan, and roused all his followers against the Emperor. Conrad now won over the lesser nobles by a famous edict, which made their fiefs hereditary: he also declared the Archbishop deposed, while Benedict IX. excommunicated him. Aribert defied both Pope and Emperor from his strongly fortified city of Milan, and the struggle was still undecided when, in 1038, Conrad II. returned to Germany, to die in the following year, at Utrecht. "He did so much in so short a time," wrote the historian of the reign, "that none can doubt that since the days of Charles the Great no worthier monarch has sat upon the royal throne."

Henry III., the Black, 1039-1056

Henry III., called the "Black" from his dark hair and complexion, succeeded his father without question or opposition. From his childhood he had been trained for the work of government. He had already been crowned king of both Germany and Burgundy, and the duchies of Françonia, Bavaria and Swabia were in his hands. Great things might be hoped from such a prince, and his people greeted his accession with a cry of joy, and hailed him as "Protector of the World." Six virtues, it was said, the virtues of a leader of men, specially graced the young king:—he was humble, pious, peace-loving, noble in mind, dignified in bearing, and steadfast in war. The seventeen years of the reign of Henry III. form a link between the prosperous days of Conrad II. and the troublous times of Henry IV. If these years saw the culmination of the power of the Roman Empire of the German Nation, they also saw the gathering of the forces that were to work the future ruin of that power.

Though Conrad II. had done much to unify the

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Empire, much still remained for his son to do:—the pacification of the Slav duchies on the eastern frontier, the confirmation of internal order and peace in Germany, the permanent incorporation of Burgundy with the Empire, and the reform of the Church. Henry turned at once to the settlement of the disturbances on the eastern frontier, where Bretislav, Duke of Bohemia, was reviving the ambitious schemes of Boleslav Chabry, and trying to establish a great Slav kingdom, with an independent archbishopric at Prague. He overran Poland and formed an alliance with Peter of Hungary, who had succeeded his father, the saintly King Stephen, in 1038. It was only after a three-years' struggle that the king marched, ravaging and burning as he went, up to the very gates of Prague, forced Bretislav to make a complete submission, and freed Poland from his domination. Hungary was not subdued till 1045, when, after three campaigns, Henry III. replaced Peter, who had been driven out by a rival, on the throne, as a vassal of Germany. A line of dependent Slav and Magyar states was thus interposed between the eastern frontier of Germany and the wilder tribes of the far East.

On the western frontier, Henry sought by diplomacy to win influence in France and to secure the loyal allegiance of Burgundy. His first wife, Gunhild, the daughter of the English king Cnut, had died in 1038. In 1043 he married Agnes of Poitiers, daughter of William, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, a marriage which brought him into intimate relations with the affairs of France, and also drew closer the connexion with the Burgundian abbey of Cluny, which had been founded by a Duke of Aquitaine. Cluny was the home of religious reform. The Cluniac monks were full of zeal for the

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purification of the Church, and the suppression of the two great evils of the time, the marriage of the clergy, and simony, the sin of Simon Magus, the sale of holy offices and ecclesiastical benefices. Henry's religious and emotional nature led him to sympathize with these ideas and to encourage Cluniac teaching. The pardon of the rebellious Aribert of Milan at the beginning of his reign had shown that his Church policy would be more conciliatory than that of his father. In 1045 the whole Christian world was shocked by a flagrant instance of simony in the Papal See itself. The Romans, weary of the vicious Benedict IX., had risen against him and elected an anti-pope, Sylvester III., in his place. The Tusculan party proceeded to restore Benedict IX., who shortly afterwards abdicated, and sold the papal throne to a Roman priest, who succeeded him as Gregory VI. So anarchical was now the state of the Church in Italy that the Archdeacon of Rome convoked a Synod and sent an urgent appeal for help to the king of Germany. In September 1046 Henry III. crossed the Brenner and held a Synod at Pavia. This was followed by a Council at Sutri in which both Sylvester III. and Gregory VI., who seems to have bought the papal office in the vain hope of reforming it, were deposed. In a third Synod at Rome Benedict IX. was also declared deposed and Henry III. appointed the German Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, to the Papal See. He was consecrated as Clement II. at Rome on Christmas-day 1046, and immediately conferred the imperial crown on Henry III. and his Queen. After the coronation the Romans bestowed the office of Patrician on the Emperor and his descendants, an office which carried with it the right of deciding the papal election. In accordance with this

First Italian Expedition, 1046

Coronation of Henry III. as Emperor, 1046

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right, when Clement II. died in 1047 and Benedict IX. reasserted his claims, the Romans sent to ask Henry III. for a new Pope, and on the death of his nominee Damasus II., a few weeks after his consecration, the Emperor named as his successor a kinsman of his own, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, with whose accession to the papal throne in 1048 as Leo IX. a new and better era began for the Roman Church. Nobly-born, learned and virtuous, Leo IX. was a supporter of the reform party, and a man of strict and holy life. He entered Rome humbly as a pilgrim, and refused to accept the papal office until he had been duly elected by the Roman clergy and people. But no sooner was he consecrated Pope than he applied himself with all the fervour of an ardent nature to the reformation of the Church. Synods were held in Italy, France and Germany; decrees were issued against simony and clerical marriage, and everywhere the Pope appeared in person, to lend the weight of his authority and eloquence to the cause of reform. Yet, though his spiritual influence was so great that after his death he was canonized as a saint, he was fated to end his life in disappointment and failure, in a struggle for temporal power with the Norman lords of Apulia.

Leo IX., 1048-1054

In the early eleventh century the Greeks still ruled Apulia from their capital Bari, and the republics of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta recognized their overlordship, but the Lombard duchies of Benevento, Capua and Salerno had thrown in their lot with the Western Empire and the Roman Church, while the Saracens of Sicily kept up a constant series of harassing attacks on Greek and Lombard alike. The distracted state of Southern Italy made it a land of promise for the warlike and adventurous Normans, descendants of the Scandinavian Vikings,

The Normans in Italy

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who were sure of a welcome and of employment as mercenaries on one side or another. In the year 1016 a band of Norman pilgrims, returning from Jerusalem, gave material help in saving Salerno from the Saracens. In 1017 a Norman force took service against the Greeks under Melus, a citizen of Bari, who was supported by Pope Benedict VIII. in an attempt to make himself lord of Southern Italy. Victorious at Civitate in 1017, Melus was defeated at Cannæ in 1018, but the military reputation of the Normans remained unshaken, and they continued to pour into Italy. In 1030, Rainulf, a Norman chieftain, made a permanent settlement at Aversa, near Naples, and in 1038 Conrad II. recognized him as Count of Aversa. It was now that three valiant knights, William of the Iron Arm, Drogo and Humphrey, sons of Tancred of Hauteville, came to seek their fortune in the South. They first entered the Greek service and fought the Saracens, but before long they turned their arms against their former allies, and in conjunction with the duke of Benevento succeeded in conquering Apulia, with its chief town Melfi. In 1042 William of the Iron Arm was proclaimed Count of Apulia, and in 1047 the Emperor Henry III. confirmed the title to William's brother and successor Drogo. The territorial power of the Italian Normans was firmly established. The freebooters had been transformed into feudal vassals. In 1050 the citizens of Benevento, after driving out their Lombard rulers, placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See. Leo IX. willingly received their homage, and entrusted the defence of the city to Norman troops. But this was like placing a wolf in charge of a lamb. The Normans tried to gain Benevento for themselves, and Leo IX., indignant at their presumption, excommunicated them.

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Both sides now prepared for war. The Pope entered into negotiations with the Greeks, and won a recognition

of his rights over Benevento from the Emperor Henry III., but his hopes were dashed to the ground by his crushing defeat, on June 18, 1053, at Civitate or Civitella, the scene of the Norman victory in 1017. The German

Battle of Civitate, June 18, 1053

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auxiliaries in the Papal army, who had mocked at the diminutive stature of their foes, fell almost to a man before the fierce Norman onslaught, but though the Pope himself was taken prisoner, the victors knelt before their captive, kissed his feet, received his absolution, and conducted him with all reverence to Benevento. Here he remained till 1054, when he returned to Rome to die. He was succeeded on the papal throne by Gebhard, the German Bishop of Eichstädt, who took the name of Victor II.

While these events had been passing in Italy, the peace of Germany had been broken by the intrigues of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Upper Lorraine, who bore Henry III. a grudge because he had separated the two Lorraine duchies, which had been united under the former Duke Gozelo. But by 1050 the Emperor had triumphed over all his enemies, and when in that year his eldest son, the future Henry IV., was born, it seemed as if the power of the Salian dynasty were indeed established on a firm foundation. The six years of life that remained to Henry were to show that this apparent security was deceptive, and that the seeds of future disaster were already sown in the Empire. Even in 1051 fresh disturbances in Hungary, where Peter had been murdered by a rival claimant to the throne, required the Emperor's armed intervention. There was discontent, too, among the German and Burgundian nobles, and in 1054 a dangerous alliance between Lorraine and Northern Italy was formed by the marriage of Henry III.'s old enemy, Godfrey the Bearded, to Beatrix, the widow of Boniface of Tuscany, the most powerful of the Italian magnates. In 1056 the Emperor made a second expedition to Italy, asserted his authority in Tuscany, and, with the new Pope Victor II., held a great reforming Synod at

Second Italian Expedition and death of Henry III., 1056

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Florence. A rising in Bavaria recalled him to Germany, and though he restored order for the time it was clear that the loyalty of the nobles could not be depended on. It was at this crisis, when a strong government was essential to the welfare of Germany, that the Emperor was struck down by fever and died on October 5, 1056. He was buried beside his parents in the cathedral at Speier, on October 28, his thirty-ninth birthday, and a six-year-old boy mounted the throne of Charles the Great.

Feudalism, the Church, and the Empire

In creating the Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Saxon and Salian Emperors were inspired by the memory of the Empire of Charles the Great, even as Charles the Great himself had revived the traditions of imperial Rome. Hence the ideal form of government in the Middle Ages was a World-State, ruled from one centre, like the Roman Empire, while the tendency of the actual order of society which had grown up out of the anarchy of the ninth century was towards local independence, disunion and decentralization. The real rulers of Western Christendom were the great nobles and tribal chieftains who in the general disorder had won land and influence and had wrested royal rights and privileges —military, judicial and financial—from the weak hands of the successors of Charles the Great. Thus the one supreme or sovereign power of the central authority was divided among many local authorities, and the "feudal system," a system of government by hereditary landlords was gradually developed. In that system the king was the sole proprietor of all the land of the kingdom: the tenants-in-chief of the crown held hereditary fiefs directly of him, and the "mesne" or middle tenants held again of them by "subinfeudation," a sort of "sub-letting." The

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king only negotiated with his immediate tenants, and they alone were responsible for their under-tenants, leading them to war, taxing them, judging them in their courts and ruling over them like petty sovereigns. The king was thus reduced to a mere overlord and great military and political power was thrown into the hands of the nobles, whose tyranny weighed heavily on the poorer classes. There was truth in the mediæval legend which told how Charles the Great appeared in seasons of plenty, crossed the Rhine on a golden bridge and blessed the cornfields and vineyards. Only the strong centralized government of the great Emperors and kings could give plenty and prosperity to the people, and protect them from the rapacity of a selfish aristocracy. All through the history of the Middle Ages runs, like a central thread, the record of the struggle between the two principles of monarchy and aristocracy, union and separatism, imperialism and feudalism. In that struggle, the German Emperors had relied on the support of the Church against the nobles. They had welcomed the movement against clerical marriage, which checked the tendency to regard ecclesiastical benefices and offices as hereditary fiefs. When the Empire which Otto I. had established on so firm a foundation had been weakened by the early death of his son and the visionary schemes of his grandson, the sagacious Henry II. had found fresh strength in a close alliance between Church and State. When Conrad II. recognized the hereditary character of lay fiefs, tacitly in Germany, and by a written law in Italy, he retained his hold upon ecclesiastical appointments, and filled the bishoprics with men whom he could trust. Though Henry III., who had once held three of the great duchies in his own hand, was forced to grant Bavaria and Swabia to powerful feuda-

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tories, he maintained harmonious relations with the Papacy, the German Church and the Cluniacs throughout his reign, and after his death it was a German Pope, his own nominee, who preserved peace in the Empire, and crowned the little Henry IV. at Aachen. But with the increased spirituality of the Church came also a sense of the inferiority of things temporal to things spiritual. The Church, once the docile servant of the State, then its zealous co-worker, now claimed to be its superior. Empire and Papacy were soon to face each other as rival powers, and from the conflict between them the German nobles were to reap their advantage and to secure their victory.

AUTHORITIES

As for Chapter I.

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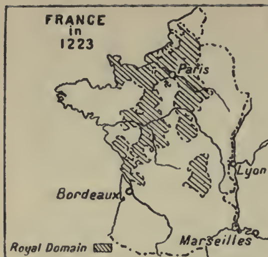

FRANCE, XI. CENTURY

Calais
Boulogne
County of Flanders
Cty. of Artois
Cty of Ponthieu
Arras
Dieppe
Amiens
County of Vermandois
Noyon
Laon
Beauvais
Rouen
Duchy of Normandy
Caen
Bayeux
Coutances
Lisieux
Gisors
Vexin
Soissons
Rheims
Châlons
Evreux
PARIS
Cty. of Champagne
Mt St Michel
Avranches
Dol
Duchy of Britanny
Cty. of Perche
Cty. of Chartres
Chartres
Cty. of Maine
Le Mans
Troyes
Sens
Orleans
Langres
Cty. of Anjou
Angers
Cty. of Blois
Blois
Cty. of Tours
Tours
Nantes
Touraine
Cty. of Bourges
Bourges
Cty. of Nevers
Nevers
Duchy of Burgundy
Dijon
Châlon
Cluny
Mâcon
County of Poitiers
Poitiers
Poitou
Cty. of Bourbon
Duchy of Aquitaine
Cty. of Saintonge
Saintes
Angoumois
Angoulême
Limousin
Limoges
Clermont
Cty. of Perigord
Cty. of Auvergne
Puy
Bordeaux
Gascony
Agenois
Agen
Cty. of Cahors
Cahors
Rouergue
Quercy
Albi
Albigeois
Nîmes
Toulouse
County of Toulouse
Gothia
Béziers
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Bayonne

English Miles

0 50 100

Royal Domain

B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1909

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CHAPTER III

FRANCE UNDER CAROLINGIANS AND CAPETIANS [918-1108]

NOWHERE was the struggle between Monarchy and Aristocracy more marked than in the kingdom of the West-Franks or France. Nowhere did the great fiefs, the "provincial nationalities," become more independent of the central power, more completely "states within a state." The Dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy, Normandy and Britanny, the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Champagne and Toulouse, were all more truly sovereigns than the impoverished descendant of Charles the Great, who nominally ruled the kingdom from his rock-bound fortress-capital of Laon. As early as 888, a great feudal noble, Eude or Odo, the deliverer of Paris from the Vikings, had been elected king of the West Franks. Though after his death Charles the Simple, a prince of the old Carolingian line, had recovered the crown of his fathers, he failed to hold his own against his turbulent vassals. In 922, three years after the accession of Henry the Fowler in Germany, Robert Count of Paris, Odo's brother, was raised to the French throne by the help of his powerful sons-in-law, Herbert Count of Vermandois and Rudolf Duke of Burgundy. In the following year, 923, Robert fell in fight with the partisans of Charles the Simple, and Rudolf of Burgundy succeeded him. Charles the Simple was taken prisoner by his enemies, and ended his days in captivity, but his wife

Charles the Simple, 893-929

Robert I. (Rival King), 922-923

Rudolf of Burgundy (Rival King), 923-936

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Edgiva, daughter of the West-Saxon king Edward the Elder, fled with her little son Louis to her father's court. When Rudolf died in 936, after a troubled reign, in which Lorraine, which had adhered to Charles the Simple, became part of the German kingdom, the leading man in France was Robert's gifted son, Hugh the Great. But loyalty to the old royal house was still strong, the rival feudatories were suspicious and jealous, and prudence led Hugh to play the part of king-maker rather than that of king. He recalled from his English exile and placed on the throne of France Louis "d'Outre-mer," the son of Charles the Simple, while he contented himself with the substance of power, and the title and authority of "duke of the Franks" (*dux Francorum*). Lord of Neustria, between Seine and Loire, duke of "Francia," north of the Seine, and overlord of Burgundy, Champagne, Blois, Chartres and Anjou, with his capital at Paris, he might well feel himself master of both king and kingdom. But the young Louis developed an unexpected spirit of resistance, and refused to submit to Hugh's guidance. Two parties were formed, and each side sought an alliance with Otto the Great, who gave his support first to Hugh and then to Louis, who married Gerberge, Otto's sister. An accident cut off Louis prematurely in 954, and though his son Lothair was elected king, Hugh was the real ruler of France until his death in 956. His eldest son Hugh, afterwards called Hugh Capet, succeeded him as duke of the Franks: his second son Odo was invested with the duchy of Burgundy. It was doubtless the narrowness of his own patrimony as compared with the vast estates of his vassals that tempted Lothair to take advantage of the death of Otto I. to try to conquer Lorraine. He entered Aachen, but was forced to retire, while Otto II., in

Louis IV. "d'Outre-mer," 936-954

Lothair, 954-986

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revenge, invaded France, took Laon and marched almost to the gates of Paris. Lothair came to terms, yet no sooner did the sudden death of Otto II. throw Germany into confusion than he resumed his ambitious schemes and allied himself with Henry of Bavaria, the rival of the little Otto III. (see p. 18). He thus alienated the imperial party in Germany, while Gerbert, now teaching at Rheims, and Adalbéron, Archbishop of Rheims, were intriguing in favour of Hugh Capet. "Lothair, King of France," wrote Gerbert, "is only supreme in name; Hugh is not supreme in name, but in fact." Supported by the Church and by the greater feudatories of France, Hugh was not long in winning the name of king also. In 986 Lothair died. His son and successor, Louis V., survived him for less than a year. The only legitimate Carolingian candidate for the throne was Louis V.'s uncle, Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, a vassal of the Emperor, as much German as French. Hugh's opportunity had come. A great assembly of lay and ecclesiastical magnates was held at Senlis. "The throne," said the Archbishop of Rheims, "is not acquired by hereditary right. He only ought to be raised to it who is distinguished both by nobility of birth and by wisdom of mind, who is fortified by loyalty, and strengthened by magnanimity. . . . If you wish to make the country miserable, choose Charles. If you desire its happiness, crown the glorious duke Hugh as king." Elected unanimously, Hugh Capet was crowned and consecrated by Adalbéron of Rheims on July 3, 987. The accession of the first Capetian king has been regarded as the true beginning of the history of France. There had been elective kings of the same house before:—Odo, Robert, and Robert's son-in-law Rudolf of Burgundy—but none of them had succeeded in founding a

Louis V., 986

Election of Hugh Capet as King of France

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dynasty, whereas the descendants of Hugh Capet ruled over France until the great Revolution of the eighteenth century. The Capetian kings owed their immediate success and their permanent establishment on the French throne partly to their ability and partly to a fortunate chain of circumstances. They were great feudal princes, "first among their peers," at a time when all society was taking a feudal form; they were great landed proprietors, when to hold land was essential to political power; "rooted in the soil," they stood firm when the Carolingians were swept away. But they were something more than feudal lords; they claimed to be the successors of the Merovingian and Carolingian sovereigns: they represented the old West-Frank monarchy, the close ally of the Catholic Church, that ecclesiastical monarchy which had been founded by Clovis and restored by Charles the Great. The Church was the real prop and stay of the new dynasty. It was to the interest of the Capetian monarchs to figure as the heirs of the ancient line, when the great vassals were anxious to regard them merely as glorified feudatories, the elected heads of the feudal order of society. The Capetians took advantage of both conceptions of kingship, the Roman and ecclesiastical conception of the absolute undivided sovereignty of the divinely appointed monarch, "the Lord's anointed," and the feudal conception of the supreme lord or suzerain. They used both conceptions to extend their authority and influence, moral and material. By long and patient labour they thus finally succeeded in gathering into their own hands the scattered threads of political power, and in building up a strong national monarchy. In the duel between king and feudatories, the king, in France, was the ultimate victor.

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The nine years of Hugh Capet's reign were comparatively uneventful. Charles of Lorraine was still master of the old Carolingian capital of Laon, and he found a valuable ally in Arnulf, Archbishop of Rheims, Adalbéron's successor. Not till 991 was the dynastic revolution completed by the betrayal of the city of Laon to Hugh, and the capture of Charles and Arnulf. Charles died in the following year, and Arnulf, in spite of the remonstrances of the Pope, was deprived of his archbishopric, which was given to Gerbert. In 996, when Hugh Capet died, there was no resistance to the accession of his son Robert, who had been crowned in his father's lifetime.

Hugh Capet, 987-996

The reigns of the three immediate successors of Hugh Capet—Robert II., Henry I., and Philip I.—which cover the whole of the eleventh century (996-1108), seem at first sight singularly devoid of interest. In reality they are the period when, slowly but surely, the French monarchy was securing its position, regulating its relations to the great feudatories, and extending the royal demesne, the territory under the direct lordship of the king. While the kings of Germany were winning the imperial crown in Italy, reforming the Papacy, or contesting the papal claims to supremacy, the kings of France, surrounded by ambitious vassals, were with difficulty maintaining a bare existence at home by following a hand-to-mouth policy, pressing every claim and seizing every chance in an unequal struggle with the forces of feudalism. "There only remained to them," it has been well said,[1] "the memories of the past, the hope of seeing their virtual power become a reality in the future, and, in the present, the sympathy

The Early Capetians, 996-1108

[1] By M. Luchaire. [Lavisse: *Hist. de France*, ii. 2, p. 178.]

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of monks and clerks for the man whom the anointing oil had sanctified." Yet in the end the French monarchy triumphed where the German monarchy failed, for the French kings devoted themselves to the task of establishing a strong central government, while the German kings were distracted by the variety of their interests and the responsibility of their imperial position. In France, too, the national monarchy found its best support in the national Church, while in Germany the fatal rivalry between Empire and Papacy broke the alliance between Church and King.

Robert II. *le Pieux*, 996-1031

Robert "the Pious" has often been described as the tool of the clergy, a monk rather than a king, weakly pious and foolishly good-natured. But this is chiefly because, as became a pupil of Gerbert, he was learned and devout, a Latin scholar, and skilled in music and theology. Contemporary chroniclers paint his tall, stooping figure, his gentle, long-nosed face, his smooth hair and beard. They tell how he sang in the service of the Mass, composed church music, and busied himself with "liberal studies," but they also note that he was brave and active, and "excelled in the art of war." His marriage with Bertha, widow of the Count of Blois, early involved him in a quarrel with the Papacy, which ended in the excommunication of the King and his separation from his wife. It was to propitiate the Pope that Robert restored Arnulf to the archbishopric of Rheims in 997, and deprived Gerbert of his See (see p. 20). Robert afterwards married Constance, a daughter of the Count of Arles, an ambitious, violent-tempered woman, whose Aquitanian and Provençal followers shocked the sober men of the northern provinces and the stern Cluniac reformers by their gay clothing, their short hair and high boots, and the frivolity

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of their manners. Connected thus with Southern France, Robert maintained friendly relations with Normandy in the west, and though, on the eastern frontier, he could not save the Burgundian kingdom from gradual absorption by the Empire (see p. 31), he reconquered the duchy of Burgundy for the royal house after a fourteen years' struggle with a usurping vassal.

He thought it prudent to refuse the crown of Italy for himself and his son, but he was willing to embarrass the German king by allowing the Duke of Aquitaine to accept the tempting offer of the Lombard nobles (see p. 29). He intervened in Flanders, and planned an invasion of Lorraine. Robert's eldest son Hugh, who had been crowned in 1017, died young, and the King's last days were troubled by the turbulence of his younger sons, Henry and Robert. After their father's death in July 1031, the two princes disputed the succession to the throne. Henry had been crowned in 1026, and was supported by Normandy, Anjou, and Flanders, but Robert had the queen-mother Constance and the Count of Blois on his side. In the end, though Henry succeeded in making good his claim, he had to cede the duchy of Burgundy to his brother.

Henry I., 1031-1060

The reign of Henry I. is one long series of struggles with the great vassals, which brought ruin and desolation to France, and reduced the royal power to a shadow. Had it not been for the disunion of the feudatories among themselves, the monarchy might well have been overwhelmed. As it was, Henry was able to strengthen his own position by playing off one feudal lord against another. Thus he helped the Count of Anjou to win Touraine from the Count of Blois. Thus, when the Norman power grew formidable under William, the

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future conqueror of England, he took advantage of the discontent of the duke's vassals, and the jealousy of his fellow nobles, to organize a coalition against him.

Normandy

The Norman dukes, descendants of the Vikings to whom, in 911, Charles the Simple had granted the land between the river Epte and the borders of Britanny, had always been faithful to the Capetian house. They had done much to raise Hugh Capet to the throne, and had loyally supported his cause. When Robert, the last legitimate duke of the old line, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, leaving a base-born child of seven years old as his sole heir, it was natural that he should commend the little William to the care of his overlord and ally the King of France.

At first Henry was true to the trust. He even fought in person in the battle of Val-es-Dunes in 1047, when William crushed the rebellious Norman nobles. But continued friendship was impossible with a vassal whose duchy commanded the waterway of the Seine, and shut off the royal demesne from access to the sea. The King and the great feudatories, the Dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine, and the Counts of Anjou, Champagne, and Auvergne, made common cause against William of Normandy, and only the warlike ability of the young duke, and his two great victories at Mortemer in 1054 and at Varaville in 1058, saved him from destruction. Yet even while the French feudatories were everywhere shaking off the royal yoke, Henry I. was able to maintain something of the traditional authority of his Carolingian predecessors. He claimed Lorraine from the Emperor Henry III. "by hereditary right." He asserted his authority over the French Church in opposition to the pretensions of Pope Leo IX. He won a Russian princess for his wife, and crowned his little son Philip in his lifetime. When he

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died, in 1060, the chroniclers could write of him with truth that he had been "a brave and active soldier."

Philip I., 1060-1108

The reign of Philip I. is one of the longest and most inglorious in the annals of France. Philip himself is often described as a sluggard and a glutton, dissolute and sacrilegious. But it must be remembered that he was at enmity with the Pope, and had offended the reforming party in the Church by his marriage with another man's wife; it is, therefore, hardly fair to judge him by monkish chronicles and papal letters. Fat almost to deformity, he may have been indolent enough, but the facts of his life show that he could rouse himself to activity on occasion, while with a keen wit and a mocking tongue he combined considerable intelligence and not inconsiderable statesmanlike ability. When Henry I. died, Philip was a child of eight years old, and the government of the kingdom was entrusted to the queen-mother and to Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, who had married the late king's sister. In 1067 Philip came of age and ruled independently till about 1098, when he associated his eldest son Louis in the kingship, and left much of the conduct of affairs to him and to the queen, Bertrade de Montfort.

Three great events mark the second half of the eleventh century—the conquest of England by the Normans in 1066; the accession of Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand, to the papal throne in 1073; the First Crusade in 1095-6. Philip I. has been censured for not interfering to prevent the Norman Conquest of England, for embroiling himself with Hildebrand and the party of ecclesiastical reform, and for not going on crusade. No doubt it was an error on the part of France to stand neutral while Normandy, its most formidable rival, trans-

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formed itself into a powerful kingdom with dominions on both sides of the Channel. Yet the fault lay rather with Philip's guardian and regent, Baldwin V. of Flanders, than with the king himself, who was but a boy of fourteen at the time. After the mischief was done, Philip did his utmost to avert its evil consequences. In alliance with the new Count of Flanders, Robert le Frison, he endeavoured in every way to check the ambitious projects of William the Conqueror. He did what he could to keep Normandy apart from England and to foster the dissensions in the Conqueror's own family. He helped the Bretons to repulse the invading Normans in 1076. In 1087 he defended the French Vexin, the border-land between Normandy and the royal demesne, from the pretensions of the English kings, and finally added it to the dominions of the French crown. It was while pressing his claims to the Vexin that William the Conqueror was mortally wounded at Mantes, and though his successor, William Rufus, continued to intrigue against France, and is even said to have aimed at the French throne, a year's unsuccessful campaigning was the only fruit of his schemes. Philip's quarrel with the Church was the inevitable result of his marriage, in 1092, with Bertrade de Montfort, wife of the Count of Anjou, "a scandalous event," which "caused trouble in the kingdom." In defiance of repeated papal excommunications, Philip refused to give up his wife, and it was only on his deathbed, in the year 1108, that he was finally reconciled with the Church, and assumed the habit of a Benedictine monk in the hope of saving his soul.

As an excommunicated king, Philip could not well have gone on crusade, even had he wished to do so, but it was really better for France that he should stay at home and

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steadily, if slowly, build up the royal power. The forty-eight years of his reign are a period of transition, for he gradually abandoned the merely defensive policy of the three first Capetians towards the great feudatories, and began that aggressive policy of definite annexation of territory which was continued by his successors. Not only did he win the Vexin and Valois, but on the death of the Count of Vermandois, that important fief was given to the king's brother Hugh. Thus on the west and north the royal demesne was protected against attacks from Normandy or Flanders, while in the south Philip gained a footing by the purchase of Bourges. But in spite of this territorial expansion, the king's real authority, even in the royal demesne, remained lamentably weak. On every side rose, dark and threatening, the castles of haughty feudatories, those square stone towers which made life a terror to the peaceful merchant, the monk, and the peasant. Some fifteen miles south of Paris the picturesque ruins of one of the most famous of these robber strongholds still crowns the hill above the ancient town of Montlhéry. When, at the close of his reign, Philip I. succeeded in getting the fortress of Montlhéry into his power, he felt, in the words of a contemporary chronicler, like a prisoner whose dungeon door has been opened. "Guard well this tower," he said to his son Louis, "it has made me old before my time." It was fortunate indeed for France that as the reins of government slipped from Philip's nerveless hands, they were gathered up by a strong and capable man, the soldier-king, Louis VI. "The Fighter" (*Le Batailleur*).

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CHAPTER IV

CLUNY AND MOVEMENTS OF REFORM

MEDIÆVAL history can only be understood by trying to enter into the spirit of the Middle Ages, and to think the thoughts of the past. Only the breath of sympathy and the light of imagination can quicken the dry bones of ancient controversies and enable us to appreciate the attitude of mind of the men and women who lived in the Ages of Faith, when the Universal Church was a visible reality, and all great political and social movements tended to take a religious form. In the struggle between the principles of monarchy and aristocracy which characterized the history of the Middle Ages, the Church stood for monarchy and for unity, as the heir of imperial Rome, and the guardian of the Roman traditions of centralized government. It was the support of the Church which gave the first German Emperors strength to hold their own against the disruptive forces of feudalism. It was the influence of the Church which raised the Capetian dynasty to the throne of France. But this political power brought its own danger, the danger that the Church itself would be secularized and feudalized, and become a mere department of the State. Churchmen held land as a necessity of existence, and held it on feudal conditions. Bishops and abbots were hardly to be distinguished from barons. They were nominated by secular lords, did

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homage to them, and were invested by them with spiritual offices and jurisdiction, through the gift of the symbolic ring and pastoral staff. The prelate was a feudatory, the benefice was a fief. The Church was drawn into the feudal system. Moreover, benefices came to be regarded as property, to be bought and sold. Simony, the sale of holy offices, was widely spread, and practised without shame, and since the clergy were permitted to marry, there was even a tendency for ecclesiastical benefices to become hereditary, like lay fiefs. In the tenth century the secularization of the Church was but one aspect of the prevailing moral and intellectual degradation. Religion degenerated into superstition, learning almost became extinct, and while the mass of the clergy sank into gross ignorance and vice, the few intelligent churchmen sought advancement in the service of the State. Even the monks, who, far more than the secular clergy, were separated by their vows from worldly cares and interests, were corrupt and self-seeking, and the invasions of the Northmen, Hungarians and Saracens completed what internal deterioration had begun. Monasteries were harried and burnt, and their inmates were scattered abroad.

Monastic Reform, Cluny

Yet already, in the early tenth century, signs of a moral revival were apparent, and with moral revival went monastic reform. In the year 910 A.D. William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, founded a Benedictine monastery at Cluny, near Mâcon, in French Burgundy, and placed it under the direct protection of the Pope. The monks of Cluny were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Mâcon, and independent of all secular authority, even that of the King of France. In the eleventh century a new rule, the "Ancient Customs of

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Cluny" (*Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii*), was drawn up, "the first example of the establishment of an Order within an already existing Order, of which it still formed part," and the "Congregation of Cluny" was gradually organized. The Cluniacs were always Benedictines, but they observed the Benedictine Rule with a difference. In the older system each religious house was an isolated community; in the new system, the original monastery kept in touch with its offshoots. It became the centre of a kind of federation, of which all the members were governed by the same statutes, rules and discipline, the Rule of St Benedict in more than its original strictness. The chapters-general or central assemblies of Cluny were attended by delegates from Italy, Germany, France, Aquitaine, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Poland and England. From the chapters-general "visitors" went out to inspect and supervise provincial administration. The abbot-general, though he was elected by the monks, ruled as an absolute monarch. The daughter-houses were, with some exceptions, simply called "priories," and the priors were nominated by the abbot-general. Cluny became the type of monastic power, a sort of "monastic empire." The Order was fortunate in falling under the guidance of a succession of great leaders. The first five abbots—Berno (910-927), Odo (926-948), Majolus (948-994), Odilo (990-1049), Hugh (1049-1109)—were men of considerable administrative ability and of saintly life. Four of them were actually canonized, and round them all grew up pious legends of marvels and miracles which witness to the popular reverence in which they were held. Odo had a tame wolf, which followed him wherever he went. Odilo walked on the water like St Peter, and turned

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water into wine like Christ. Hugh, the friend of Pope Gregory VII., who had himself refused to be Pope, lived in a wonderland where nothing seemed impossible. But this passion of mystic devotion did not prevent the early Cluniacs from becoming a great force in practical politics. As monks, bound by the threefold vow of chastity, poverty and obedience, they were peculiarly fitted to fight against simony, the marriage of the clergy, and lay investiture. As exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, they, better than the secular clergy, could protest against the feudalization of the Church. As directly subordinate to the Pope, they were untrammelled by national loyalty in advocating the claims of the spiritual power.

Revival of Learning and Education

Monastic reform was but one side of a general moral and intellectual revival, a reawakening of the human mind and spirit, which, dimly perceived in the tenth century, may be clearly traced from the middle of the eleventh century to its culmination in the "twelfth century Renaissance." Another sign of this reawakening was an increased interest in education, and a love of learning for its own sake. It was said of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, the brother of Otto I., that he "restored the long-ruined fabric of the seven liberal arts." Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., the friend of Otto III., who was schoolmaster (*scholasticus*) at Rheims, was so learned that he was supposed in after times to have sold his soul to the devil in return for knowledge. Education in the tenth and eleventh centuries was entirely in the hands of the secular clergy and the monks. The cathedral schools of Rheims, Chartres, Paris and Laon, were particularly famous, and the monastic schools of Cluny, of Fleury, and of Le Bec in Normandy, where first Lanfranc, and then St Anselm, attracted eager crowds of students by their teaching.

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In Germany, Bruno's school at Cologne, and the monastic schools of Reichenau and St Gall in Swabia, and of Fulda and Hersfeld in Franconia, with the Saxon nunneries of Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, won special renown as educational and literary centres. Here current events were recorded in chronicles and annals, the lives of the saints were written, and the authors of classical antiquity were studied and imitated. Bruno of Cologne even learnt Greek. Hrotswitha, abbess of Gandersheim, worked up the legends of the saints into Latin comedies in the manner of Terence. Gerbert expounded Virgil, Juvenal and Horace. In Italy the study of Roman law seems never to have been wholly neglected, and Pavia had a school of law as early as the tenth century. It is pleasant, in reading the records of the fierce turmoil of mediæval life, to come upon passages which tell how Bruno of Cologne would retire from the noisy supper-table to the companionship of his treasured books, or how Fulbert of Chartres, the disciple of Gerbert, himself master of all the learning of his time, would, even after he became a bishop, teach his pupils in the chapel garden, or in quiet walks about the cathedral, so that after his death they remembered him as "our Socrates." Teachers such as these formed the great men who led the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Leo IX. and Gregory VII. drew strength from the educational revival no less truly than from the monastic reformation.

Mission Work

In Germany the spirit of moral and ecclesiastical reform found practical expression in educational and missionary activity. The Church worked hand in hand with the State in the extension and consolidation of the kingdom. Under Otto I. bishoprics were founded, for the Danish march at Aarhus, Ripen and Schleswig, and for the Wends

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at Oldenburg, Havelberg and Brandenburg. At the end of the tenth century, Adalbert, the Bohemian bishop of Prague, the "Apostle of Prussia," gave his life in an attempt to convert the heathen Slavs.

Mysticism in Italy

In Italy the spiritual revival was more mystic in character, and influenced individuals rather than communities. Devout and sensitive men, shocked at the profligacy around them, withdrew into the wilderness, and dwelt as solitaries, or in congregations of hermits, in mountain caves or in wild and lonely places, where they gave themselves up to meditation, and to penitential observances. Such were St Nilo, the Calabrian hermit, whom Otto III. visited in his retreat near Gaeta, and St Romuald of Ravenna, the founder of the hermit Order of the Camaldoli, who tried to win Otto III. for the monastic life. Such, too, was the Tuscan noble, St Giovanni Gualberto, who, in 1039, founded the Order of Vallombrosa, and of whom it was told that the sculptured Christ upon the Cross had bent towards him in approval when he spared his brother's murderer. His legend was a favourite subject with the artists of his native town of Florence, and in the fifteenth century, when the great painter Fra Angelico represented the founders of western monasticism in a fresco in the chapter-house of the Florentine monastery of San Marco, he introduced both St Romuald and St Giovanni Gualberto into the group gathered below the Cross of Christ. This mysticism and enthusiasm, the asceticism of the hermits, their scourgings and penance, their dreams and visions, were not without their effect on the later reform movement. They gave it warmth, and zest, and inspiration. Peter Damiani, the friend of Hildebrand, and one of the leaders of the reform

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party, was himself a hermit of the Order of Camaldoli. Under his direction, and that of men like-minded, a regular campaign was opened against those "cankers" of the age, simony and clerical marriage. Leo IX. condemned them in a Council at Rome, and again, with great solemnity, in the Council of Rheims in 1049. The treatise on simony, which was written somewhat later by Humbert, an Italian cardinal-bishop, shows the feeling of the reformers on the subject. Humbert does not scruple to compare the king of France, Henry I., to Simon Magus himself, and to accuse all the Emperors, except Henry III., of encouraging simony. He proceeds to denounce lay investiture as the root of the evil, and from this time onwards the attack on the marriage of the clergy and simony widened into a determined attempt to free the Church from State intervention by absolutely prohibiting the grant of spiritual symbols by lay hands. This attempt made a breach between Church and State inevitable, for the prohibition of lay investiture carried with it the refusal of churchmen to do homage to laymen for ecclesiastical fiefs, set the Church altogether apart from the State, and completely severed it from the secular duties and feudal obligations by which it was bound. Thus, by monastic and educational revival, by the ecstatic fervour of mystics and visionaries, by the practical training of ecclesiastical lawyers and statesmen, and by the quickening and deepening of the popular conscience and moral sense, the way was prepared for the Hildebrandine reformation, and for the war of Investiture.

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CHAPTER V

THE EASTERN EMPIRE AND THE SELJUK TURKS [912-1081]

WESTERN Christendom was brought into touch with the Eastern world through "New Rome," or Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, which, from its Thracian headland commanded the Bosphorus, and stood, as it were, on the bridge between Europe and Asia, where the commerce and civilization of two continents met and mingled. The city of Constantinople was renowned throughout Europe for its size, its strength, and its splendour. As the phrase, "See Rome and die," passed into a proverb, so did the "New Rome" become the centre of the northern legend of "Micklegarth," the "great city," the goal of barbarian ambition. At the opening of the tenth century, the Byzantine Empire, of which Constantinople was the capital, lay, a highly centralized, united and civilized state, between the tumultuous, disorderly, half-feudal and half-barbarous nations of the West, the shattered fragments of the Empire of Charles the Great, and the no less troubled and loosely-knit Caliphate of the East, which had reached its highest point of glory in the days of Charles the Great's famous contemporary, Haroun al Raschid. The Eastern Empire included at this time the whole of Asia Minor, with the exception of Cilicia; and, in Europe, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonica, and the Greek peninsula, with a long, narrow strip of territory on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, running up beyond Dyrrachium or

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Durazzo. It included also the "Themes" or provinces of "Langobardia" or Apulia and Calabria, the "heel and toe" of Italy, the islands of the Ægean, and the detached theme of Cherson in the Crimea. Venice, too, and the South Italian Republics of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi were under Byzantine overlordship (see p. 35). But the European dominions of the Emperor of Constantinople had been considerably curtailed by the settlement in the Balkan peninsula of the warlike race of the Bulgarians, who in the seventh century had established a strong kingdom between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, while in the ninth century the Saracens conquered the important islands of Sicily, Crete and Cyprus.

Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus, 912-958

In 912, while Conrad the Franconian was still struggling with the unruly factions of Germany, a boy of seven years old, Constantine VII., called Porphyrogenitus (*born in the purple*), peacefully ascended the imperial throne of Constantinople, in the place of his father, Leo VI., "the Wise." Gentle, studious and artistic by nature, Constantine's long minority accustomed him to leave the administration of the Empire to stronger hands. Six years after the death of his uncle, the Emperor-regent Alexander, the grand-admiral Romanus, whose daughter Constantine had married, seized the imperial position, and, in 919, was crowned as joint-Emperor. It was not till 945 that the quarrels of Romanus and his sons brought about their downfall, and set Constantine free to rule as sole Emperor. He had spent the years of his subjection in a peaceful, refined seclusion, devoting himself to painting, music, and literature. He has left books which are still full of interest to historians, "On the Themes," or military provinces, "On the Administration of the Empire," and on Court Ceremonies. He died in

(Co-regent Emperors—Alexander 912-913; Romanus I. Lecapenus, 919-945)

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958, after thirteen years of just and moderate, if somewhat weak, personal government, and was succeeded by his son, Romanus II.

Romanus II., 958-963

State of Islam

A tempting opportunity for territorial expansion was now offered to the Byzantine Emperors by the divided condition of the Mohammedan East. The military and religious Empire founded in the seventh century by Mohammed and his immediate descendants had broken into three caliphates—the Abbasside caliphate of Bagdad in Asia, the Ommeyad caliphate of Cordova in Spain, and the Fatimite caliphate of Cairo in Egypt. The Abbasside caliphate was further weakened by internal disruption. In the middle of the tenth century the Buhawid (*Bowide*) prince, who had conquered Persia, subdued the caliph of Bagdad, under pretence of delivering him from the tyranny of his own subjects, and established himself as Emir of Emirs (*Amir al Omara*). The Caliphs, once the spiritual and temporal heads of Islam, Popes and Emperors in one, were now the mere tools of their Buhawid emirs, who usurped the whole temporal power, and ruled despotically over Persia and Lower Mesopotamia. Meanwhile the Emirs of Aleppo and Mosul governed North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia as independent sovereigns, while the dynasty of the Ikshides made themselves masters of Southern Syria and Egypt. There were thus four rival Mohammedan States in Asia, where there had formerly been but one strong consolidated power, and the weakness of disunion opened the way to Byzantine ambition. In 961 the great general Nicephorus Phocas won the island of Crete, the refuge of pirates, and took the Cretan Emir prisoner. In 962 he conducted a successful campaign in Cilicia and Northern Syria. When, in 963, Romanus died, Nicephorus Phocas, the victorious and popular com-

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Basil II., Bulgaroktonos, 963-1045 (Co-regent Emperor—Nicephorus II. Phocas, 963-969)

mander, became the guardian of his two little sons, Basil II. and Constantine VIII. He was crowned as joint-Emperor with them, and married their mother, Theophano, the beautiful widow of Romanus. As Emperor, Nicephorus completed the conquest of Cilicia, the island of Cyprus, and a great part of Northern Syria, with Aleppo and Antioch. A born soldier, the son of a race of hardy and warlike Cappadocian landowners, and himself the author of a treatise on military organization, he was the idol of the camp; but at court and in the capital he was dreaded and disliked for the rigour of his justice, his stern rule, and the severe simplicity of his life. He quarrelled with the Patriarch, and offended the clergy. He taxed heavily, but his revenues were spent on the army, and the pomp and show which the Byzantines loved were ruthlessly suppressed. When in 969, after his last glorious campaign in Syria, he returned to Constantinople, his wife, Theophano, who had long since grown weary of her unresponsive husband, conspired against him with her favourite, his own nephew, John Zimisces, a young and distinguished officer. Zimisces had a private grudge against his uncle, who had refused to make him heir to the Empire in the place of Basil II., and he readily yielded to Theophano's persuasions. One winter night in 969 the Emperor awoke to find his murderers forcing the door. John Zimisces threw him to the ground, and as he cried to God for mercy the assassins stabbed him to death. John Zimisces was now crowned Emperor, and enjoyed the fruits of his crime for seven years. He shut up Theophano in a nunnery, and reigned, like his uncle, in conjunction with Basil and Constantine. A brave and accomplished soldier, he saved the Empire from the serious danger of Russian conquest and occupation. To Russia,

(Co-regent Emperor—John I., Zimisces, 969-976)

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as to France, to Southern Italy, and to England, Viking invasion had come as a sharp but salutary discipline, a consolidating and unifying force. In the ninth century Swedish adventurers, under their valiant leader Rurik and his descendants, had gradually united the scattered Slav tribes of Eastern Europe into a strong Russian kingdom, with its capital at Kiev on the Dnieper. The Russians retained their old love of fighting and adventure, and soon found their way down the Dnieper into the Black Sea, whence they could harry the Byzantine provinces. But the attack of Sviatoslav, King of the Russians, in 970, was made in force from the land side, and was preceded by the conquest of Bulgaria. John Zimisces returned from Asia Minor to take the field against this new enemy. In two great battles at Presthlava and Silistria he completely defeated the Russians, whose massed columns of infantry, like the Saxon square at Hastings, could not stand against the combined attack of the heavy cavalry and the bowmen and slingers of the Byzantine army. Blinded by the rain of arrows and stones, and weakened by the charges of the mailed horsemen, they broke their ranks, and were ridden down by the Greeks. After the second battle Sviatoslav was besieged in Silistria, and forced to surrender. Terms of peace were agreed upon, and Russia entered on a period of friendly relations with the Eastern Empire. Commercial intercourse was revived; the Russians were converted to Christianity, and became, as they have remained, members of the Greek or Orthodox Church. Bulgaria accepted the overlordship of Constantinople; the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas in Syria were secured and extended, while in Europe the marriage of Theophano, the sister of the two young Emperors, to the

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future Otto II. (see p. 15), cemented the friendship with the West Roman Empire. In 976, in the midst of these successes and triumphs, Zimisces died suddenly, not without suspicion of foul play; and Basil II., now a young man of twenty, became Emperor in his own right, with his younger brother Constantine as his nominal colleague.

Conquest of Bulgaria

Basil II., who reigned independently from 976 to 1025, earned the title of "Slayer of the Bulgarians" (*Bulgaroktonos*), from his long struggle with Samuel, the Bulgarian king. Samuel, the founder of a new dynasty, was an able and ambitious ruler, who had quite shaken off the Byzantine suzerainty, and with his Bulgarian and Slav troops menaced the Empire from his capital of Ochrida. The trial of strength between the Bulgarian king and the Byzantine Emperor lasted for thirty-four years, but in 1014 Samuel was forced to own himself defeated, and died broken-hearted.

By 1018 all Bulgaria was incorporated with the Eastern Empire, and the northern Byzantine frontier ran from Belgrade to the mouth of the Danube. Basil next resumed the work of his predecessors in the East, and conquered much territory from the Armenians, an impolitic step, since it weakened the Christian kingdom of Armenia, which acted as a bulwark to the Empire against the Mohammedan powers of the East.

In 1025 Basil II. died, whilst he was preparing for a Sicilian expedition. With him ended the glory of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. He had been a worthy successor of the strong and warlike Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, a good soldier, a just, though harsh, ruler, and a pious, if fanatical, son of the Church. He was succeeded by his brother Constantine VIII., an elderly, feeble, self-indulgent man, who died in 1028,

Constantine VIII., 1025-1028

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leaving as his sole heiresses his two middle-aged daughters, Zoe and Theodora. Zoe had been married, when her father was on his deathbed, to Romanus III., who now became the nominal head of the Empire; though Zoe, vain, clever and unscrupulous, kept the real power in her own hands. When Romanus died in 1034 the Empress married Michael the Paphlagonian, a good-looking young courtier, and a successful soldier. On his early death seven years later, Zoe hesitated whether to marry a third husband, or to adopt a son. She decided to adopt her late husband's nephew and namesake, and Michael V. was crowned as joint-Emperor in 1041. In the following year his ingratitude to his benefactress provoked the anger of the mob of Constantinople, and Michael was blinded and thrust into a monastery. Zoe now tried a third marriage with Constantine Monomachus, who reigned as Constantine IX. till 1054, four years after the death of the aged Empress. This period saw the beginning of troubles in the Byzantine Empire: Norman conquests in Southern Italy (see p. 36), rebellions in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, and at home misgovernment and financial maladministration, and the final breach between the Eastern and Western churches. After the death of Constantine IX., Zoe's sister Theodora, who was still vigorous in spite of her seventy years, mounted the imperial throne. The best part of her life had been spent in a convent, and her ascetic virtue contrasted strangely with the levity and worldliness of her sister. She died in 1057, after a brief spell of authority, naming as her successor her own contemporary, Michael Stratioticus.

Zoe and her Husbands

Romanus III., Argyrus, 1028-1034

Michael IV. the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041

Michael V., 1041-1042

Constantine IX., Monomachus, 1042-1054

Theodora, 1054-1057

With the extinction of the Macedonian dynasty the Empire fell into anarchy. Within a year Michael Stratioticus was deposed in favour of the popular Isaac

Michael VI., Stratioticus, 1057

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Isaac I., Comnenus, 1057-1059

Constantine X., Ducas, 1059-1067

Comnenus. He in turn vanished into a monastery, to give place to a Cappadocian noble, Constantine Ducas, who reigned till 1067. Constantine's policy of saving money by disbanding a large part of the army was peculiarly disastrous at a time when the Empire needed all its military strength to meet the most deadly peril which had threatened it for centuries.

The Coming of the Seljuks

The Seljuk Turks, fierce nomads from the steppes beyond the Oxus, swept, in the eleventh century, with irresistible power, over Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor. Zealous converts to the orthodox form of Mohammedanism, they overthrew the Buhawid Emirate of Bagdad, and their leader, Toghrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, became in his turn "defender of the faith" and protector of the helpless Abbasside Caliph, who made him his "Sultan," or temporal viceroy. In 1064 Alp Arslan, the nephew and successor of Toghrul Beg, carried his victorious arms to the Byzantine frontier, and took Ani, the ancient Armenian capital. Three years later, in 1067, the young son of Constantine Ducas became Emperor under the guardianship of his stepfather, Romanus Diogenes. The new Emperor-regent devoted himself to the task of rolling back the tide of Turkish conquest, but, though a brilliant soldier, he was an imprudent general. In the summer of 1071 he found himself, with a reduced and wearied army, faced by the whole Seljuk force under Alp Arslan at Manzikert, on the Armenian frontier. The battle which followed was a turning-point in Byzantine history. All day long the fight raged, but as fast as the Greek cavalry broke the lines of the Turkish bowmen the ranks were closed up by newcomers, till at last, as evening fell, the Turks succeeded in dividing the imperial army and almost

Alp Arslan, 1063-1072

Michael VII., Ducas, 1067-1078 (Co-regent Emperor—Romanus IV., Diogenes, 1068-1071)

Battle of Manzikert, 1071

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destroying it. Romanus Diogenes was taken prisoner and led into the presence of the Sultan, who placed his foot on the prostrate Emperor's neck in token of victory, but allowed him to return to Constantinople. Here John Ducas, who had usurped the regency in the absence of Romanus, caused him to be seized and blinded so roughly that he died. The Empire now seemed about to break up altogether. For ten years the imperial title was the prey of any military adventurer who dared to assume it. The legitimate Emperor, Michael VII., was displaced in 1078 by one of these pretenders, Nicephorus Botaniates. He ruled in name rather than in fact for three years of mismanagement and confusion. Then, in 1081, a fresh revolution drove Botaniates into a monastery, and placed Alexius, nephew of Isaac Comnenus, on the imperial throne, which his descendants were to occupy for a century. His accession marks the opening of a somewhat happier and more prosperous epoch in the history of the Eastern Empire.

Nicephorus III., Botaniates, 1078-1081

Alexius I., Comnenus, 1081-1118

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CHAPTER VI

THE WAR OF INVESTITURE [1056-1125]

Henry IV., 1056-1106

THE premature death of the Emperor Henry III., which plunged Germany into feudal anarchy, opened to Italy new prospects of liberty and national independence. When Henry III. reformed the Papacy, and set Leo IX. on the papal throne, he was raising up a force which was destined eventually to overwhelm the Empire. In the weakness of Germany under the child-king Henry IV., the Papacy stood forth as the champion of the "freedom of the Church," the immunity of the ecclesiastical power from all secular control. The theory of the "Sovereignty of the Church," the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal power, had long floated before the eyes of the party of reform. It was now to be clearly formulated and put into practice by the inspiring genius, the leader and organizer of that party, Hildebrand, one of the great men of the world's history. Little is certainly known of Hildebrand's early life. Born in Tuscany, he was educated in the monastery of St Mary on the Aventine hill at Rome. Here he came under the influence of reforming ideas, assumed the monastic habit, and, in all probability, took the monastic vows. He left the monastery to act as chaplain to Pope Gregory VI., and after Gregory's deposition (see p. 34) he shared his exile. When Gregory died, Hildebrand withdrew from Rome, but he returned

Early Career of Hildebrand

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in 1049 in the train of Bruno of Toul, the future Leo IX. Henceforth, his fortunes were indissolubly united with those of the reform party in Italy. A true enthusiast, Hildebrand dreamed of making Rome mistress of the world under the successors of St Peter, in a deeper, more spiritual sense than she had ever been under the successors of Augustus. This meant the purification of the Church from all internal corruption, and emancipation from all external authority; the rooting out of simony and clerical marriage, and deliverance from the domination of German kings, Roman nobles, and Norman adventurers. But in the eleventh century, no cause, however spiritual, could be maintained without material support. The Papacy needed land, money and soldiers to establish its supremacy, and when it broke off its connexion with the Empire, it was forced to seek alliances elsewhere, first with the house of Lorraine and Tuscany in northern Italy, and subsequently with its old enemies, the Normans of Apulia and Calabria.

On the sudden death, in 1057, of Pope Victor II., the friend of Henry III., the Roman clergy and people elected as his successor Frederick, abbot of Monte Cassino, the brother of Godfrey of Lorraine. Godfrey had been reconciled to the little king of Germany through the intervention of the Pope, and had been reinstated in his possessions and dignities both in Lorraine and in Tuscany. He was a zealous supporter of ecclesiastical reform, and his brother, the new Pope, Stephen IX., shared his views. It seemed as if the house of Lorraine were about to build up an irresistible power in Italy, when the death of Stephen IX. in 1058 dissolved the formidable combination, and revived the hopes of the enemies of reform. No sooner was Stephen's death known than the old aristo-

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cratic Tusculan and Crescentian factions reappeared in Rome, and elected a candidate of their own, Benedict X., to the vacant Papal See. But now were seen the fruits of Hildebrand's policy. Formerly, the only refuge from a "Tusculan" or "Crescentian" Pope had been an "Imperial" Pope. Now the reform party showed itself capable of acting independently. The cardinal-bishops of Rome assembled at Siena under Hildebrand, and, strengthened by the support of Godfrey of Lorraine and the approval of the Empress Agnes, chose Gerhard, the Burgundian bishop of Florence, as Pope. A Synod was then held at Sutri, in which Benedict X. was excommunicated and deposed. Awed by the troops of Godfrey of Lorraine, and bribed by the gold of Hildebrand, the Romans allowed the reformers to enter the city of St. Peter. Benedict X. fled, and Gerhard of Florence was enthroned as Nicholas II.

The election of Nicholas II. meant a victory for Hildebrand's party over the Roman nobility. With Godfrey of Lorraine and Tuscany already their friend, if they could secure the alliance of the Lombard towns of the north and the Norman princes of the south, the reformed Papacy might fairly claim to be the centre of national life in Italy. The short pontificate of Nicholas II. saw the conclusion of both these alliances. The new Pope began by legalizing his somewhat irregular election. In a great Council, held in the Lateran Palace at Rome in 1059, a decree was passed vesting the right of electing the Pope in the cardinal-bishops, assisted by the cardinal-clergy.[1] The ordinary clergy and people might only

[1] The College of Cardinals included seven cardinal-bishops, twenty-eight cardinal-presbyters, two abbots, and twelve cardinal-deacons, with six Palatine deacons. The bishops held the Sees

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ratify the choice by their assent, and though the imperial right of confirmation was admitted, it was expressed in the vague phrase "saving due honour and reverence to our beloved son Henry, at present king, and, it is hoped, to be Emperor in the future by the grace of God." The Pope was as a rule to be chosen from the Roman Church, and elected at Rome, but foreigners were eligible for the Papacy, and any place of election was recognized as legal in which the cardinals, clergy, and Catholic laity were gathered together. At this same Council appeared the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragan bishops, the "stiff-necked bulls of Lombardy," to make submission to Rome. In the Lombard towns the reform movement had found a response in the lower classes alone. The nobles and clergy stood aloof, and scornfully called the reformers "Patarini," or "rag-bags." In Milan especially, the proud rival of Rome, the opposition to reform was so violent that it called for the intervention of a papal legate, the famous monk and zealot, Peter Damiani, cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Damiani warmly upheld the cause of the "Patarini," and it was through his efforts that the Lombard prelates were induced to yield and to renounce simony and the clerical marriage which Milan had always claimed as a peculiar privilege.

The "Patarini"

Even more important than the victory of the reform party in Lombardy was the alliance between the Papacy and the Norman lords of southern Italy, Robert Guiscard, a younger son of Tancred of Hauteville, and his brother-in-law, Richard of Aversa. Robert Guiscard, the "Wise-acre" or "Crafty One," was an ideal hero of mediæval romance. Tall, strong, and graceful, with sparkling eyes

lying immediately round Rome. The priests or presbyters, and the deacons, generally took their titles from churches in Rome.

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and fair flowing hair and beard, he was skilled in all manly exercises and knightly accomplishments. After many adventures and hardships, he succeeded his half-brother Humphrey as Count of Apulia and Calabria, while Richard of Aversa won Capua from the Lombards. These were the men whom Hildebrand, in defiance of the policy of Leo IX. and Stephen IX., enlisted in the papal cause. By their help Benedict X. was subdued and degraded, and Nicholas II. was not slow to recognize their services. In a Council held at Melfi in 1059, Robert Guiscard took an oath of fealty to the Pope as Duke, "by the grace of God and of St Peter," of Apulia and Calabria, and, "in the future," of Sicily, and swore to pay a yearly tribute for the lands held by him of St Peter, to defend the rights and possessions of the Holy See, and to protect the Pope and promote his canonical election. At the same time Richard was confirmed in the principality of Capua, and the Normans were formally released from the ban of the Church.

The value of the new alliance was seen when, in 1061, on the death of Nicholas II., Hildebrand, now archdeacon of Rome, found himself confronted by the threefold opposition of the Roman nobles, the Lombard anti-reform faction, and the German magnates. It was only the presence of Norman troops in Rome that enabled Hildebrand to place his own candidate, Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, on the papal throne. Anselm, who was consecrated as Alexander II., was elected by the cardinal-bishops without reference to Henry IV. This offended the Germans, while the Lombards were alienated by the papal support of the Patarini. The Romans had already sent the insignia of the patriciate to Henry IV., and had begged him to exercise his rights. Now, in a Council

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at Basle, at which the young king was present, a rival Pope was chosen, Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, who is known as Honorius II. After three years of schism and civil war, the Hildebrandine party finally triumphed, and Alexander II. was recognized as the lawful Pope at the Council of Mantua. This result was mainly due to a change of policy in Germany, where Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, an adherent of Alexander II., had usurped the regency of the kingdom. Cadalus died in 1072, and was followed to the grave by Alexander II. in 1073. The moment had come for Hildebrand, so long the power behind the papal throne, to mount that throne himself as Pope Gregory VII.

Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), 1073-1085

On April 22, 1073, while the funeral rites of Alexander II. were being celebrated in the Lateran Church of St Saviour, the assembled multitude raised the cry: "Let Hildebrand be our bishop!" Hildebrand himself tried to check the excitement, but the cardinal Hugh the White, prevented him. "Brothers," he said, addressing the assembly, "you know that from the days of Pope Leo, Hildebrand has exalted the Roman Church, and has given freedom to this city. Wherefore, since we can find no better man, nor one who is his equal for the Roman pontificate, we elect him who has been ordained in our Church, and whom we have known and proved." A great shout went up: "St Peter has elected Pope Gregory!" The people seized the unwilling archdeacon and dragged him to the Church of St Peter ad Vincula, where they enthroned him. "They rushed upon me like madmen," wrote Hildebrand, "and with violent hands forced me into the seat of apostolic government." Irregular and hurried as was the manner of his election, it was thoroughly popular, and Hildebrand accepted it as

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a call from heaven. He took the name of Gregory VII., which the people had given him at his election, a name associated with the founder of the papal power, Gregory the Great, and at once assumed the full responsibilities of his position. Only God and the prayers of good men, he wrote, kept him from sinking beneath the weight of care which pressed upon him. So lofty were his aims, so bold were his schemes, that his followers likened him to the eagle that soars above the earth and dares to gaze upon the sun.

All eyes now turned to Rome as the political centre of Italy and the spiritual centre of Western Christendom. In Lombardy the feud between the Patarini and the anti-reform party had revived during the papal schism. A disputed election to the archiepiscopal see of Milan was the signal for an outbreak of civil war, in which the "rag-bags," organized under a knightly leader called Erlembald, were warmly supported by the Pope.

The Countess Matilda of Tuscany

In Tuscany, the death of Godfrey of Lorraine in 1069 had thrown the chief power into the hands of his step-daughter Matilda, the "Great Countess," the beautiful and high-spirited heiress of the Marquis Boniface (see p. 38). The connexion between Lorraine and Italy was not broken, for Matilda had married Godfrey's successor, his son by his first marriage, Godfrey the Hunchbacked, but the hold of the Papacy on Tuscany was strengthened, since both Matilda and her mother Beatrice were religious enthusiasts, and the devoted partisans of Gregory VII. In southern Italy, the alliance with the Papacy had given a religious sanction to the extension of the Norman dominion over schismatic Greeks and infidel Saracens. In 1071 Robert Guiscard took Bari, the last Apulian stronghold of the Eastern Empire, and as early

Extension of Norman power in southern Italy

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as 1061 he and his younger brother Roger began the systematic conquest of Sicily. "I desire," said Robert, "to free the Christians who are sighing under the Saracen yoke. I long to end their slavery, and to avenge the offence to God." In 1066 another Norman adventurer. William the Conqueror, crossed the English Channel, with the papal approval and blessing, to win a kingdom, and to replace the schismatic archbishop Stigand[1] by the orthodox reformer Lanfranc. Both William in England and Roger in Sicily fought under banners consecrated by the Pope. When the wild Viking spirit had been thus subdued, and the swords of the freebooters had been dedicated to the service of the Church, the era of the Crusades and of "militant Christianity" was at hand. The first care, indeed, of Gregory VII., was to secure his temporal and military power in Italy by reclaiming the alienated lands of the Patrimony of St Peter, by forming a papal guard from his vassals, and by receiving the fealty of the Lombard Prince of Benevento and of the Norman Richard of Capua.

Affairs of Germany

While Italy was thus struggling towards political unity under the strong rule of the reformed Papacy, Germany was a scene of lawlessness and disorder. The death of Pope Victor II. left the young Empress, Agnes of Poitou, sole regent of the German kingdom, where already the nobles were beginning to revolt against the government of a woman and a child. "There was no fear of the law," wrote the biographer of Henry IV., "for law had little authority under a boy-king." The great dukes were either hostile to the royal house or too weak to lend effectual support to the throne, and the prelates were

[1] He had received his archbishop's pall from the anti-pope Honorius II. (Cadalus).

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divided amongst themselves, and at feud with the lay nobles. The general discontent came to a head in 1062, when Anno, the powerful archbishop of Cologne, conspired with Count Ekbert of Brunswick and with Otto of Nordheim, the new duke of Bavaria, to seize the person of the twelve-year-old king. A picturesque story tells how, while Henry IV. was at his palace of St Suibert or Kaiserswerth, on an island in the Rhine, he was enticed on board a boat belonging to Archbishop Anno, and carried off to Cologne. In his terror at finding himself kidnapped, the young king plunged into the river, but he was rescued, and flattered and soothed into submission.

The Empress now retired from public life, and the conduct of affairs fell into the hands of the German prelates, led by the archbishop of Cologne, till the middle of 1063, when the kingdom was governed by two ecclesiastical regents, Anno of Cologne, to whom was entrusted the education of the King, and Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between these two great churchmen. Anno, the architect of his own fortunes, a man of stately presence, shrewd, stern, and dignified. Adalbert, the nobly-born courtier, witty and accomplished, but vain, passionate, and extravagant. Yet both were alike in their boundless ambition, and in devotion to the interests of their dioceses. It has been said that Anno wished to make Cologne the Rome of Germany, while Adalbert aimed at making Bremen the Rome of the Scandinavian North. But Adalbert's pride and avarice wrecked his schemes, and brought about his ruin. In 1066 he fell a victim to a conspiracy of the chief nobles and prelates, and was banished from Court. Once more Henry IV. found him-

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self almost a captive in the hands of the great feudatories, and once more he was forced to submit to the dictation of Anno of Cologne and Otto of Nordheim. Time worked his deliverance. Anno's influence weakened as he fell into disfavour with Pope Alexander II. on account of simoniacal practices, and in 1070 Otto of Nordheim, accused of plotting against the king, rebelled, and was deprived of his duchy. With his disgrace in 1071, the death of Adalbert of Bremen in 1072, and the final retirement of Anno of Cologne from Court, Henry IV. really began his personal reign. He was now in the full strength of early manhood, tall and handsome, dignified in manner, quick of wit, weighty in speech, brave, active, and warlike. But he had never learnt to curb his passions or discipline his will, and the bitter experiences of his boyhood had made him suspicious, arrogant, and harsh of judgment. Married against his will in 1066 to Bertha, daughter of the Marquis of Turin, he took a violent and unreasonable dislike to his young wife, and would have divorced her had not Peter Damiani, as papal legate, intervened, and brought him to a better mind. He alienated the nobles by his severity, and by giving his confidence to his personal friends and to low-born counsellors. To the general uneasiness and distrust the Saxons added special grievances. Their duchy was left vacant, while the son of their late duke languished in captivity. The king resided constantly in Saxony and took tribute. From the Saxon and Thuringian hill-tops frowned the castles built by Henry to overawe the land, whence Swabian garrisons sallied forth to plunder and oppress the people. Free men were compelled to forced labour; even wood and water, it was said, were taxed, and the free Saxons were being degraded to the position

Personal Rule of Henry IV.

The Saxon Revolt, 1073

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of slaves. When the king, who was preparing for an expedition against Poland, failed to listen to their complaints, the Saxons held a mass meeting of nobles and peasants, took up arms under Otto of Nordheim, besieged Henry in the Harzburg, and forced him to escape by night to the Abbey of Hersfeld. All through the autumn and winter of 1073 negotiations and fighting went on side by side. While the Saxons were destroying the castles, which were to them the visible signs of royal tyranny, grave accusations of private vice were brought against the king. He was said to have plotted the murder of the dukes of Swabia and Corinthia, and his deposition was seriously discussed. The great nobles were suspected of intrigues with the rebels, and the rebels themselves actually offered the crown to Rudolf, Duke of Swabia, Henry's brother-in-law. But the loyal burghers of Worms opened their gates to the king and promised to stand by him to the death, and early in 1074 he won over the Saxon magnates to conclude the peace of Gerstungen. The king promised to demolish the remaining castles, to guarantee the Saxon liberties, and to restore Otto of Nordheim to the duchy of Bavaria. Unfortunately, in dismantling the Harzburg, the Saxon peasants went beyond their instructions, pulled down the royal palace, and rifled the tombs of Henry's brother and of his baby son. This act of violence alienated sympathy from the Saxon cause. War was renewed, and on June 9, 1075, the Saxon army was completely defeated with appalling slaughter by the royal troops at Hohenburg, on the river Unstrut in Thuringia.

Battle of Hohenburg 1075

In the following October the rebels surrendered unconditionally. The castles were rebuilt, the insurgent leaders were imprisoned, and Henry remained master of the situa-

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tion. Yet his triumph was apparent rather than real. Fresh clouds were already gathering on the horizon, and the thirty-one years of life which remained to the ill-fated king were to be one long tragedy:—a ten years' duel with Gregory VII., a fierce struggle with the Countess Matilda and with his own rebellious son Conrad, and a closing scene of defeat and humiliation at the hands of his youngest and last surviving son Henry.

The Saxon revolt had diverted the attention of Henry IV. from Italian affairs. He had acquiesced in the election of Gregory VII., and had written humbly and submissively to the new Pope. Gregory, too, full of ambitious schemes, and confronted with many practical difficulties, had but little leisure to spare for Germany. Two great ideas now possessed his mind: the purification of the Church by the suppression of simony and clerical marriage, and the extension of the Christian faith by the conquest of the infidel Turks, who were threatening the very existence of the Eastern Empire (see p. 68). But the Pope's appeals to Western Christendom to take up arms in defence of the East fell on deaf ears; his decrees against simony and clerical marriage, with the famous edict of 1075 forbidding all lay investiture, were disregarded. His allies failed him. Erlembald, leader of the Patarini, was killed by his opponents, and Robert Guiscard incurred excommunication by invading Capua and the papal territory of Benevento. Gregory's enemies in Rome even attempted to assassinate him, while Henry IV. openly invested prelates by ring and staff, and refused to abandon his simoniacal counsellors, who had been excommunicated by the Pope. Gregory felt that the time for decisive action had come. He wrote a warning letter to the German king, accompanied by a message urging him,

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on pain of excommunication, to amend his ways and dismiss his excommunicated advisers. Furious at this interference, Henry summoned a Council at Worms, in January 1076, in which, after the cardinal Hugh the White, now bitterly hostile to Gregory VII., had made an infamous attack on his character and policy, sentence of deposition was pronounced upon the Pope, as unworthy of his high office. The German bishops renounced their obedience to Gregory, and wrote to "brother Hildebrand" to explain their reasons: his irregular election, his despotic government, and his scandalous life. Even more insulting was the letter in which "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the holy ordinance of God," bade "Hildebrand, no Pope, but a false monk," relinquish the seat of the Apostles to another, who would not cover violence with a cloak of religion, but would teach the wholesome doctrine of St Peter. "I, Henry," ran the conclusion of this haughty challenge, "king by the grace of God, with all our bishops, say to thee, 'Come down, come down.'" The decisions of the Council of Worms were approved by the Lombard bishops and were then sent to Rome. In February 1076, at a great Synod in the Vatican, Roland, a clerk of Parma, delivered the letters, and cried aloud to the Pope, in the name of the King and bishops of Germany, to come down from the chair of St Peter, which he had won by robbery, not by canonical right. Then, turning to the cardinals, he told them that Henry IV. would come to Rome at Whitsuntide to give them a new Pope, "for this man is no Pope, but a ravening wolf." At these daring words Roland would have been cut to pieces, had not Gregory himself stood between him and the indignant Romans. The Pope now excommunicated the German and Lombard bishops, formally excommuni-

Council of Worms, 1076.

Gregory VII. sentenced to deposition

Excommunication and deposition of Henry IV.

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cated and deposed Henry, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him. After claiming, as the representative of St Peter, the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, Gregory pronounced the terrible sentence: "In the name of Almighty God, I prohibit Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, who has risen with unheard-of arrogance against the Church, from ruling in Germany and Italy. I release all Christians from the obligation of the oaths which they have taken, or may hereafter take, to him; I forbid all men to serve him as king . . . and I bind him with the bonds of anathema."

By this decree Gregory VII. openly proclaimed the supremacy of the Church over all temporal States. If the Pope possessed "the power of the Keys," the right to bind and loose, he could at any moment break the bonds of allegiance, homage, and fealty which held together feudal society, and sever alike the vassal from his lord and the subject from his sovereign. The prohibition of lay investiture had freed the Church from secular control, the power of the Keys placed all secular government under the authority of the Papacy.

Gregory realized that his declaration meant war. He strengthened his military forces in Rome, and opened negotiations with Robert Guiscard and Roger of Sicily, while the Countess Matilda placed her troops unreservedly at his disposal. The Pope's best hopes, however, lay in the disunion of Germany, where the king's excommunication had revived all the elements of discord. Though sentence of excommunication was pronounced on Gregory VII. by the Bishop of Utrecht, the great nobles, always lukewarm in their loyalty, fell away from the discredited king, the Saxon revolt broke out afresh,

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the reforming party in the Church supported the papal cause, and even the bishops began to waver. In the autumn of 1076 the nobles and prelates met, with the Pope's approval, in Council at Tribur on the Rhine, while Henry took up a position at Oppenheim, on the opposite bank. The mediation of Hugh of Cluny, the King's god-father, brought about an agreement. Henry humiliated himself and promised amendment, yet he had to submit to hard conditions. The nobles demanded that he should obtain release from excommunication by the anniversary of his sentence, or forfeit his right to the throne. The Pope was to hold a Council at Augsburg in the following February, and until then the King was to remain at Speier (Spires) without royal state or power. Henry now begged the Pope to receive his submission at Rome, and when Gregory bade him wait for the Augsburg Council, he determined on prompt action. Taking with him his wife and his three-year-old son Conrad, he crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis pass, in spite of the rigour of an unusually severe winter. The queen and her women were dragged over the slippery ice and snow on ox-hides, and the little band safely reached Italy, where the King's partisans eagerly flocked round him. Gregory had retired with Countess Matilda to her castle of Canossa, in the Apennines, and here, on January 21, 1077, Henry appeared to sue for absolution from the relentless Pope. Only after long negotiation and three days of humiliating waiting, in the bitter weather, in the garb of a penitent, was the King, through the intercession of Countess Matilda, admitted to Gregory's presence. Prostrate and in tears at the feet of the Pope, after promising to abide by the papal decision in his quarrel with the German nobles, he received the longed-for absolution. It was an

Council of Tribur, 1076

Canossa, Jan. 21, 1077

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impressive scene. In the presence of the great Countess and of the saintly Hugh of Cluny, the small sallow Pope, only redeemed from insignificance by the flashing eyes that bespoke his fiery soul, stooped to raise and pardon the royal penitent, the representative of the highest earthly dignity. So dramatic, indeed, was the reconciliation, that the importance of the submission at Canossa has been overrated, and historians have seen in it the crowning triumph of the Papacy. It was, much more truly, merely a link in a long chain of events, a deliberate surrender, whereby Henry won, through a passing mortification, a permanent advantage. He forced the Pope's hand by wringing the absolution from him before the Augsburg Council. He turned the tables on the German nobles, who could no longer plead the papal sanction for their refusal to obey an excommunicated king, and he put Gregory in the wrong by posing as a repentant sinner before a ruthless judge.

Meeting of Forchheim, March 13, 1077

Deposition of Henry IV.; Election of Rudolf of Swabia

The absolution at Canossa drove the German nobles into open revolt. On March 13, 1077, they met at Forchheim, near Bamberg, and, before the papal legates, but without waiting for the Pope's sanction, declared Henry IV. deposed, and elected Rudolf of Swabia in his place. On March 15, Rudolf was proclaimed king, after he had renounced all hereditary claim to the throne for his heirs, and had conceded freedom of election to all bishoprics. But Rudolf's partisans underestimated the strength of the attachment to the old royal house. Henry's Lombard supporters, at first indignant at his submission, now rallied to him, and his release from excommunication, with the election of the anti-king, gave him a formidable party in Germany. When he returned from Italy, troops gathered round him from

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Bavaria, Carinthia, and Bohemia. Even the Swabians supported him against their own duke, the great Rhine cities were on his side, and Rudolf was forced to retire to rebellious Saxony. Two years of civil war followed, while the Pope temporized and vacillated between the rival kings. At last, in 1080, the defeat of Henry's army at Flarchheim, near the Unstrut, encouraged Gregory to declare for Rudolf. He again excommunicated Henry, and deprived him of his German and Italian dominions, definitely claimed the right "to give or take away kingdoms," and threatened all those guilty of lay investiture with excommunication. Henry retaliated by deposing Gregory, excommunicating both Gregory and Rudolf, and setting up an anti-pope, Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, the leader of the royal party in Lombardy. There were now two Popes and two German kings, and open war was renewed between Gregory and Henry, a war in which fortune seemed to have turned against the Papacy. On October 15, 1080, Henry was defeated on the river Elster in Saxony, but Rudolf was mortally wounded in the battle, and his death threw his party into confusion. A new anti-king, Hermann of Luxemburg, was chosen in the following year, and was the nominal leader of the papal party in Germany until 1088. In the spring of 1081 Henry could venture to leave Germany and march on Rome. Twice, in 1081 and again in 1082, he attacked and beleaguered the city in vain, but in 1083 he effected an entrance and opened negotiations with the Romans. On Palm Sunday, 1084, after the renewal of the sentence of deposition and excommunication on Gregory VII., Wibert of Ravenna was consecrated as Pope Clement III., and on Easter Day he crowned Henry IV. Emperor in St Peter's. Gregory, besieged in the castle of St

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Angelo, sent an appeal to Robert Guiscard, who, though reconciled to the Papacy, had hitherto been too much absorbed in his designs upon the Eastern Empire (see chap. x.) to come to the help of the Pope. Now, alarmed at the near approach of the Germans, he took the field with a force of Normans, Lombards, and Sicilian Saracens. Henry, outnumbered, withdrew to the north, and left Rome to its fate. The gates were opened by Robert's friends within the city, and with cries of "Guiscard! Guiscard!" his troops poured over St Peter's bridge and rescued Gregory from the castle of St Angelo. A quarrel, in which a Norman was slain, gave an excuse for a savage revenge. The city was sacked and burned, and thousands of men and women were sold into slavery. Ten years later Rome was still in ruins. The cruelty of the Normans, wrote a contemporary, won more hearts for the Emperor than he could have purchased with a hundred thousand gold pieces. When Robert Guiscard returned to the south, Gregory VII. accompanied him. Less than a year later, on May 25, 1085, the great Pope passed away at Salerno, saying with his last breath:—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." Robert Guiscard did not long survive him. He died at Corfu on July 17th, as he was preparing for an expedition against Constantinople. On his tomb were inscribed the words: "Here lies Guiscard, the terror of the world." (*Hic terror Mundi Guiscardus.*)

The Pope rescued by the Normans under Robert Guiscard

Death of Gregory VII., May 25, 1085

Death of Robert Guiscard, July 17, 1085

Gregory VII.'s last words betray the bitterness that filled his soul at the downfall of his hopes. Yet his was one of those "high failures" which are sometimes worth more than success. He was not a great creative genius, but he put into words what other men could only dumbly feel, he gave form and definition to the vague theories and

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aspirations of the party of reform in the Church (see chap. iv.). He saw the world divided and distracted by feudal strife and conflicting beliefs. He tried to give it peace and unity and centralization by making the divinely-instituted Papacy supreme over all human and temporal powers, and thus establishing a spiritual Empire of God upon earth. To this ideal, noble if impracticable, he devoted his life. To him the Pope was the Vicar of Christ, the direct representative of the Apostles, and as such superior to all Emperors and kings. He was ambitious for a cause, not for himself; he was obstinate and unyielding from the very intensity of his faith in the righteousness of his aims; he sought temporal authority only as a means to spiritual influence. His personal charm, and the mixture in his character of shrewd worldly wisdom with religious mysticism, is seen in Peter Damiani's half-reluctant attraction towards him. He called him his "Holy Satan," whose will had ever been to him "a command, evil yet lawful."

After the death of Gregory VII. the prospects of the papal party looked gloomy enough. A year passed before a new Pope was elected, and then the choice fell upon the Abbot of Monte Cassino, an old feeble man, quite unfit to cope with the difficulties of the position which was forced upon him. He was consecrated at Rome as Victor III., under the protection of the Norman troops of the prince of Capua, and died at Monte Cassino in a few months. His successor, Urban II., the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was a Frenchman, a monk of Cluny, and a devoted follower of Gregory VII. He was consecrated in 1088 at Terracina, for the imperialists had regained possession of St Peter's, after a fierce fight with the forces of Countess Matilda. The papalists had now

Urban II., 1088-1099

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once more an able and energetic leader. Gregory VII. was dead, but his ideals lived on, and his cause found champions in Urban II. and the Countess Matilda, "the Deborah of the Papacy." Matilda, whose first husband, a loyal imperialist, Godfrey the Hunchbacked, had died in 1076, married in 1089 the young son of Welf, Duke of Bavaria, one of the chief leaders of the anti-imperial party in Germany. Bavaria and Tuscany were thus united against the Emperor. Germany was a hotbed of sedition and treason. The Normans of Southern Italy, Jordan of Capua, Robert Guiscard's son Roger, the Duke of Apulia, and his uncle "the great Count," Roger of Sicily, were partisans of Urban II. The first seven years of Urban's pontificate were occupied with a tedious struggle between Henry IV. and the Countess Matilda in Lombardy. The Emperor took Mantua in 1091, but in 1092 he was repulsed from Canossa. A heavier blow was to follow. Matilda won over the young Conrad, who had been crowned King of Germany in 1087, to rebel against his father and join his enemies. In 1093 he was crowned King of the Lombards, and town after town of Northern Italy, where the Patarini were still active, declared for him. When Henry heard of his son's revolt his spirit seemed broken, and he was with difficulty restrained from putting an end to his life. To add to his misfortunes, his second wife, the Russian princess Praxedis, accused him openly of the grossest cruelty, and the popular feeling began to turn strongly against him. In 1095, while the Emperor, powerless and heart-sick, dragged out his inactive days in north-east Italy, Urban II. made a kind of triumphal progress through Tuscany, Lombardy, Burgundy, and France. At Piacenza he held a Council, in which the excommunication of the anti-pope was

Revolt of Conrad, son of Henry IV., 1093

Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, 1095

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renewed, and ambassadors from the Eastern Emperor appeared, seeking for help against the Turks. At Cremona he received an oath of fealty from King Conrad. At the great November Council of Clermont he stood forth to the world as the preacher of the First Crusade (see chap. x.). In the winter of 1096 he entered Rome, where in 1099 he died. No unworthy successor of the great Gregory VII., Urban II. carried the Hildebrandine principles to their logical conclusion. He absolutely prohibited not only simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture, but the homage of ecclesiastics to laymen. He did not hesitate to excommunicate the king of France (see p. 52) for carrying off Bertrade of Anjou, or to set up the young King Conrad as a rival to his father. With him the projects of Gregory VII. for the rescue of the Holy Land from the Turks took shape and substance in the organization of the crusading movement. The death of Urban II. and the election of Cardinal Rainerius, a rigid Gregorian, as Pope Paschal II., opened the last scene of the tragic drama of Henry IV.'s reign. The anti-pope Clement III. died in 1100, and his three insignificant successors had little influence. Conrad, the young king, also died in 1101, deeply repenting of his rebellion against his father. Henry IV. had won over the Welfs to his side, and his second son Henry had been crowned at Aachen, and had sworn not to interfere in the government of the kingdom during his father's lifetime. But the brighter prospects which seemed to be dawning for the Emperor were soon overshadowed. There could be no lasting peace for him while the unbending Paschal II. sat upon the papal throne, and the great nobles, strengthened by the long civil war, were all-powerful in Germany. His reign ended, as it had begun, with feudal revolt and

Death of Urban II., 1099

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Revolt of Henry, son of Henry IV., 1104

intrigue. In 1104 the young King Henry put himself at the head of a widespread conspiracy to depose Henry IV. The Pope granted him release from the oath which he had sworn to his father, and in 1105, by a feigned submission, he succeeded in entrapping the Emperor and imprisoning him in the castle of Böckelheim. On December 31, 1105, Henry IV. abdicated at Ingelheim, and a week later his son received the royal insignia at Mainz, and was recognized as king by the magnates. Yet the Emperor still had many friends, especially in the great towns. The Duke of Lorraine and the Bishop of Liége supported him, and he had hopes of aid from France and Flanders. He was at Liége engaged in negotiations with his son when, on August 7th, 1106, after a few days' illness, he peacefully ended his toilsome life. The papal legate refused to allow the body of the excommunicated Emperor to be buried in consecrated earth, and for nearly five years it rested in an unconsecrated chapel. Not till 1111 was the unhappy Henry IV. laid by the side of his father and grandfather in the cathedral church of Speier.

Abdication and death of Henry IV., 1105

In all German history there is no king more worthy of pity than Henry IV., neglected by his guardians in his fatherless childhood, defied by his subjects in his early manhood, betrayed by his sons in his declining years, engaged throughout his life in a hopeless struggle with the forces, irresistible when united, of the reformed Papacy and the feudal aristocracy. Like Gregory VII. he fought for an ideal, the supremacy of the Empire over the Papacy, the restoration of the imperial power of his ancestors in its fulness. It was inevitable that he should fail, for this ideal was alien alike to the religious feeling of the age and to the feudal spirit of independence. Yet he triumphed in defeat. He held the fort of Empire

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against all attacks, and it was largely due to his courage and pertinacity that, sixteen years after his death, the war of investiture ended in a "concordat," a compromise, not an unqualified victory for the Papacy.

Henry V., 1106-1125

The settlement of the investiture question lends interest to the otherwise dull and monotonous reign of Henry V. He had dissembled while he needed help from the Pope and the German nobles, but no sooner had he won the throne than he showed himself in his true colours—stern, ambitious, and bent on restoring the imperial power. A breach with the Papacy could not long be delayed, since Henry persistently disregarded Paschal II.'s repeated decrees against lay investiture.

In August 1110 Henry marched into Italy, to claim the imperial crown. The Pope could not trust the fickle Romans, and the Normans did not respond to his appeal for help. In his perplexity he sent legates to Sutri to propose to Henry that he should renounce the right of lay investiture and that the clergy in return should surrender all temporalities held of the crown, "duchies, marquisates, counties, . . . rights of coinage, tolls, market-rights, and rights of jurisdiction." Only the Patrimony of St Peter, the Pope's own demesne, was excepted from the renunciation.

On February 12, 1111, Henry V. entered Rome and went in state with the Pope to St Peter's, where Paschal's proposal was publicly read aloud. A wild scene of confusion followed. Prelates and nobles protested against the spoliation of the Church. The suggested compromise was rejected. The King renewed his claim to invest, and imprisoned the Pope and Cardinals, while the Romans rose and fiercely attacked the Germans. After three tumultuous days Henry retired from the city, but he took

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with him the Pope and sixteen cardinals, and would not release them till Paschal had formally granted him the right of investiture. "For the peace and freedom of the Church," said the Pope, "I do what I would not have done to save my own life." On April 13, 1111, Henry was crowned Emperor in St Peter's, and then returned in triumph to Germany. The general feeling of the Church was, however, strongly adverse to the Pope, and in the Lateran Council of 1112 he withdrew his concession to the Emperor and declared his entire sympathy with the principles of Gregory VII. and Urban II. A French synod at Vienne actually excommunicated Henry V., and the sentence was repeated by the papal legate. In Germany, too, Henry's harsh rule had produced disaffection. The Saxons revolted under their new duke, Lothair of Supplinburg, Cologne rose against the Emperor, and his trusted adviser, Adalbert Archbishop of Mainz, joined the insurgents.

Coronation of Henry V. as Emperor, April 1111

When in 1115 the death of the Countess Matilda recalled Henry to Italy, the Pope once more openly repudiated his grant of the right of investiture. A tumult in Rome soon afterwards drove Paschal from the city, and, on March 25, 1116, the Archbishop of Braga, as papal legate, crowned Henry and his young wife, Matilda of England, in St Peter's. The Pope returned to St Angelo in the last days of 1117, only to die early in the following year.

Second Coronation of Henry V. at Rome, 1116

His successor, Gelasius II., died at Cluny after a troubled reign of less than a year. In 1119 the nobly born Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, became Pope Calixtus II. A secular priest and a statesman, he was destined to end the long investiture struggle. Henry V. had set up an anti-pope, Gregory VIII., the Archbishop

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of Braga, but he was not unwilling to treat with Calixtus. A Council was held at Rheims in October 1119 in the presence of the Pope, while the Emperor encamped with an armed force in the neighbourhood. The discussion lasted long, since neither side would concede enough to make an agreement possible, though a decree was passed restricting the prohibition of lay investiture to bishoprics and abbacies. The Council closed with the solemn excommunication of Henry and the anti-pope. Calixtus returned to Rome, and in the following year the unfortunate anti-pope was captured and consigned to a monastery. Peace seemed as far off as ever, but both Pope and Emperor were heartily weary of strife, and negotiations were soon reopened. Terms were made with the Archbishop of Mainz and the Saxon rebels in 1121, and the investiture question was referred to a general Council, to be held by the Pope in Germany. On September 8, 1122, this Council met at Worms. After eight days' deliberation a satisfactory compromise was at last effected. Henry promised to give up investiture by ring and staff on condition that the election of prelates should take place in his presence or in that of his representative. The temporalities were to be conferred by the touch of the royal sceptre, before consecration in Germany, and in the other parts of the Empire within six months after consecration. This settlement, which was confirmed in the Lateran Council of 1123, was not unlike the agreement which Henry I. of England had concluded fifteen years earlier with Archbishop Anselm. In both cases the Church reserved to itself the spiritual supremacy while the State retained the temporal sovereignty. In both cases the compact was followed by a truce rather than by a lasting peace. The strife between Empire and Papacy,

Council of Worms, 1122

Concordat of Worms

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Church and State, had, indeed, to be fought out to the end, for it was a strife between two irreconcilable principles. It took the feudal form of the investiture struggle in a feudal age. It would revive under other forms in later centuries. Calixtus II. did not long enjoy his triumph. He died in 1124, the year which saw the Emperor's invasion of France in the interests of his father-in-law, Henry I. of England. In 1125 Henry V. also passed away, at Utrecht, and was buried by his father's side in the cathedral of Speier.

Deaths of Calixtus II., 1124, and Henry IV., 1125

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CHAPTER VII

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS VI. AND LOUIS VII.

[1108-1180]

Louis VI., *Le Gros,* or *Le Batailleur,* 1108-1137

LOUIS VI., the eldest son of Philip I. by his first wife, Bertha of Holland, was crowned King of France at Orleans on August 3, 1108, five days after the death of his father. This almost unseemly haste was justified by the critical situation of the young king, whose stepmother Bertrade de Montfort was always ready to intrigue against him in favour of her own sons, while the restless and discontented feudatories hoped to find their opportunity in a disputed succession. At no period in the history of France were the nobles more nearly independent of the crown than at the opening of the twelfth century. The king, though he had the advantage of a central position, was, in actual wealth and in the extent of the territory under his rule, inferior to many of his subjects. The greater feudatories were really sovereign princes, firmly rooted in the soil, with hereditary succession and the royal rights of declaring peace and war, coining money, taxing and judging their tenants. They sought to govern as well as reign, to found dynasties, to extend and consolidate their territory, to unify and centralize their authority, to do for each province what the king of France was attempting to do for the nation. Hence the struggle between Monarchy and Aristocracy in general resolved itself, in twelfth-century France, into a

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series of particular struggles between the king and each of his great vassals in turn. As was to be expected, the most deadly of all these contests was waged with the most formidable of the tenants-in-chief of the Crown, the Duke of Normandy, who was also King of England, and was soon to become Count of Anjou and Duke of Aquitaine.

The Great Fiefs

The great French fiefs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries fell into two main groups, northern and southern.

In the north, the royal demesne, the Ile de France and the immediately surrounding districts, was shut in and almost crushed out of existence by its powerful neighbours, Flanders, Blois, Champagne, and, above all, Normandy. Capetian dynasties ruled in Vermandois and Burgundy, and the bishops of Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Châlons and Langres, with the archbishop of Rheims, were the immediate vassals of the king, but his dominions sank into insignificance when compared with the wide and fertile territory of the Norman dukes, the lower Seine valley, the city of Rouen, the towns of Evreux, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux and Coutances, and the port of Dieppe.

Normandy

The Scandinavian settlers in Normandy, the "French Danelaw," had prospered exceedingly under the strong rule of their "pirate-dukes," the Viking Rollo and his descendants. After the treacherous murder by the Flemings of Rollo's son, William Longsword, Louis d'Outre-mer profited by the weakness of the "Little Duke," his boy-successor, Richard the Fearless, to enter Rouen and assert his rights of sovereignty over the duchy. The Normans called Harold Blue-tooth, the Danish king, to their aid, Louis was defeated, taken prisoner, and delivered to his enemy Hugh the Great, who kept him in captivity

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for a year. Norman chroniclers and poets have worked up a pretty story of the crafty king beguiling the fatherless Richard to his court at Laon, under the pretext of educating him with his own sons, while he secretly plots to deprive him of his heritage. The Little Duke is saved by his faithful squire Osmond de Centeville, who carries him out of the palace hidden in a truss of hay. Then the Danes come to the rescue, and the treacherous French are crushed in a great battle. The true history of the early dukes of Normandy is mingled with legend and romance, but it is certain that they preserved the memory of their northern origin, and maintained friendly relations with their Scandinavian kinsmen, though, with the quick receptiveness of their race, they assimilated French culture and became civilized and Gallicized. It is also certain that while Rollo and William Longsword supported the Carolingian dynasty, Richard the Fearless threw in his lot with the Capetians, and married the daughter of Hugh the Great. The alliance lasted till the middle of the eleventh century, but the conquest of England made the Norman dukes at once the rivals and the permanent enemies of the kings of France.

Britanny

Immediately to the south of Normandy lay the Celtic province of Britanny, the "French Wales." In the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte Charles the Simple had given Rollo indefinite rights over Britanny, rights which the Normans proceeded to interpret by making themselves masters of the country. Some twenty-five years later, in 958, the Bretons shook off the Norman yoke, and their leader, Alan of the Twisted Beard (*à la Barbe Torte*), became duke of Britanny. North of Normandy stretched the county of Flanders, in 1108, under its crusading Count, Robert of Jerusalem, a faithful ally of the French monarchy. The

Flanders

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Blois and Champagne

Counts of Blois and Champagne, on the contrary, who ruled to the south and east of the royal demesne, were steadily hostile to the Capetian house, while the "demon-race" of the Counts of Anjou were the constant rivals of Blois and of the Norman dukes, with whom they disputed the possession of the county of Maine.

Anjou

Aquitaine

South of the Loire, the old kingdom of Aquitaine had broken up into a number of independent lordships. In the tenth century the title of Duke of Aquitaine gave practically no real authority over the southern provinces. Like the title of King of France, it only won respect when borne by a wealthy and able landed proprietor. The two great rival powers in the south were the Counts of Poitou and the Counts of Toulouse, and sometimes one bore the ducal title and sometimes the other. At last, in 951, Louis d'Outre-mer gave the title to William Tow-head (*Tête d'Etoupes*), Count of Poitou. In spite of the claims to the lordship of the South advanced by the Capetian kings, he founded the great ducal house of Aquitaine, in whose dominions were included the counties of Auvergne, Poitou and the Limousin. He was the first of that famous line of Williams, the tenth of whom left as sole heiress Eleanor, who married successively Louis VII., King of France, and Henry II., King of England.

Poitou and Toulouse

Languedoc, Gascony, and Provence

Languedoc was similarly broken into small lordships, but the Counts of Toulouse were the great lords of the extreme south, while the Dukes of Gascony ruled over the country south of the Gironde, and the Counts of Barcelona watched the Spanish frontier. Provence, with the Rhone valley, had been severed from the French kingdom in the ninth century, and formed part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which in 1034 was united to the Empire (see p. 31). These southern provinces were

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even more independent of the king of France than the North. The Counts of Toulouse did not do homage to the Capetian kings till the twelfth century. The Duke of Aquitaine refused to recognize Louis VI. on his accession. The early Capetians often styled themselves kings of "the Franks and the Aquitanians," as if they ruled over two separate nations, and in truth the Aquitanians were completely different from the men of the North in their speech, the "langue d'oc," which was quite distinct from the northern "langue d'oïl," in their manners, and in their interests.

Character and policy of Louis VI.

The tall, stout, pale-faced, dim-eyed man whom his contemporaries called Louis the Fat (*Le Gros, Grossus*), or Louis the "Wideawake" (*L'Eveillé, Non dormiens*), is well known to us from the biography written by his faithful friend and minister, Suger, Abbot of St Denis. Ready of speech, sweet of temper, and, in spite of his unwieldy bulk, of an extraordinary activity of body, Louis was worthy of the affectionate respect in which his people held him. His touch was said to heal the sick, and in the thirteenth century he was still remembered as the "Justiciar" (*Le Justicier*). When he mounted the throne in 1108 he was already trained and disciplined by the experience of life. A childhood overshadowed by his stepmother's dislike had been succeeded by a youth of hardships and dangers. Entrusted from his sixteenth year with the defence of the Vexin, the Norman "march" or frontier, he had early won fame as a soldier, "an incomparable athlete and eminent gladiator," as Suger calls him. In his struggle with the hostile party at Court, he had learnt patience and caution. The peculiar pallor of his complexion was attributed to poison given him by his stepmother, who

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did not scruple to plot against his life in the interests of her own sons. For eight years before his actual accession he had been the real king of France, but a king hampered on every side by restrictions. His father's death gave him undivided authority and left him free to meet his difficulties in his own way. With the coronation of Louis VI. the French monarchy entered definitely upon a new phase of development. Henceforward the kings of France were to pursue an aggressive policy, to advance steadily and boldly, until by conscious and deliberate effort they had built up the strong fabric of royal absolutism which was not shattered until the Great Revolution of the eighteenth century.

In his relations with the feudatories, Louis VI. followed a double policy. He directly repressed the military power of his rebellious vassals, and he weakened their influence in the government of the kingdom by employing his own officials in the work of administration. At first, indeed, he relied to a dangerous extent on his ministers and courtiers, especially on three brothers of the house of Garlande, of whom one, a clerk, Etienne de Garlande, became both Chancellor and Seneschal, and for nearly twenty years was rather the master than the servant of the king. The influence of the queen, Adelaide de Maurienne, and of the holy St Bernard at length overthrew the power of the favourite, and Louis VI. found more trustworthy instruments of government in his cousin, Raoul de Vermandois, to whom he confided the chief military responsibility in the kingdom, and in Suger, the wise and prudent Abbot of St Denis.

The direct reduction of the threatening power of the feudal lords began with the suppression of the petty

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tyrants of the royal demesne. Chief among these were Hugue du Puiset, the type of the robber-baron, and Thomas de Marle, a wild beast among men, a monster of savage cruelty. Hugue du Puiset ended his days in the Holy Land. Thomas de Marle died, the wounded captive of the King, refusing to the last to free the merchants languishing in his dungeons. The helpless victims of such men as these might well look to their soldier-king as their protector, but it was only after years of constant fighting and untiring activity that, at the close of his life, Louis VI. succeeded in restoring peace and order to his immediate dominions.

Outside the royal demesne the great feudatories ruled like sovereign princes and treated with the king of France on terms of equality. The battle of Tinchebrai, in 1106, had consigned Robert Curthose, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, to a lifelong imprisonment, and had united England and Normandy under his brother Henry I., "a hero illustrious alike in peace and war." In alliance with his nephew Theobald IV. Count of Blois, he waged almost constant war with France for twenty-five years (1109-1135). Louis VI. fostered the opposition of the Norman vassals to Henry's rule, and supported the claims of William Clito, son of Robert Curthose, to the Norman duchy. Henry and Theobald retaliated by encouraging the rebellious feudatories of the Ile de France to revolt against their king. The English victory at Brémule in 1119 and the death of Baldwin VII. of Flanders, the ally of Louis VI., were neutralized in 1120 by the heavy blow which fell on Henry I., when his only son William the Ætheling was drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship* in which he was crossing to England. The hopes of the partisans of William Clito revived, and his cause was

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warmly taken up by the King of France and the Count of Anjou. But Henry I. diverted the troops of Louis VI. from Normandy by inducing his son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V., to invade France from the east. The French levies "covered the earth like clouds of grasshoppers," says Suger, and the Germans retreated before them, while Henry I. crushed the Norman rebellion without fear of French interference. In 1127 the assassination of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, the successor of Baldwin VII., enabled Louis VI. to make a final effort on behalf of William Clito by investing him with the vacant fief. But Clito died in the following year from the effects of a wound, and in 1129 the reconciliation of Anjou to England was sealed by the marriage of the widowed Empress Matilda, the daughter and heiress of Henry I., to Geoffrey the Fair, son of the Angevin count, Fulk V. The future looked dark for France when the death of Henry I. in 1135 plunged England into civil war, and gave Louis VI. a breathing-space. Two years later, in 1137, an unexpected turn of fortune doubled the royal demesne and opened a dazzling prospect to the French monarchy. William X., Duke of Aquitaine, died on pilgrimage, and, in accordance with his last wishes, his daughter Eleanor, who inherited his vast possessions, was betrothed to Louis, the eldest surviving son of the king of France. In July 1137 the young prince set out for the south with a splendid retinue, to conclude the marriage which was to have such far-reaching consequences.

Death of Louis VI., 1137

Less than a month after his departure, on August 1, 1137, Louis le Gros ended his strenuous and restless life at Paris. To the last he was a fighter, and his eager spirit chafed against the infirmities of his body. "Had I but had knowledge when I was young, had I but strength

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now that I am old," he would say with a sigh, "I should have subdued empires!"

Louis VI. died clothed in a monastic habit and surrounded by bishops and abbots. The Church, which thus consoled him in death, had throughout his life been his chief ally in the ceaseless struggle with the forces of feudalism. The Church supplied him with money and with soldiers. The village priests led out their parishioners to fight the robber-barons of the royal demesne, and a regular crusade was preached against Thomas de Marle by the papal legate. From the Church came the ministers and officials on whom Louis VI. relied in the work of government, while the direct relations between the king and many of the great prelates gave him a pretext for intervention in distant fiefs. If Louis le Gros gained much from the Church, he gave much in return:—lands, charters and privileges. Yet he always maintained a position of supremacy in ecclesiastical matters: he would be master both of Church and State. The Church courts were forced to recognize the superiority of the king's court; the king gave permission to elect bishops and abbots, and by the bold assertion of his rights he even incurred the anger of St Bernard and the party of reform. With the Papacy, also, Louis VI.'s relations were friendly. The Popes, since their breach with the Empire, had gradually drifted into a closer connexion with France. More than one fugitive Pope had taken refuge in Louis VI.'s dominions, and it was largely due to French support that in the schism of 1130 (see p. 123) Innocent II. triumphed over his rival Anacletus.

Louis VII., *Le Jeune*, 1137-1180

Louis VII., who was only sixteen when he mounted the throne, has suffered from comparison with his great minister Suger, his great rival, Henry II. of England,

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and his great son, Philip Augustus. A chronicler describes him as "fairly intelligent, but pious and soft." With him, as with the English king Stephen, his defect lay in being "mild and soft and good," when the qualities which were needed in a king were strength and decision. Fortunately for France, what was lacking in Louis was supplied by his faithful adviser, Suger, the abbot of St Denis, the typical statesman-ecclesiastic of the twelfth century. A spare, sickly little man, of mean aspect and lowly birth, Suger won the confidence of the king by his eloquence and tact, his knowledge of men and affairs, his administrative and financial ability and his constant vigilance and activity, and was the true ruler of the kingdom till his death in 1151.

The first years of the young king's reign were occupied with a quarrel with Pope Innocent II. over the election to the archbishopric of Bourges, and with a struggle against the old enemy of the royal house, Theobald IV. of Champagne. Louis invaded Champagne and took Vitry, but through the intervention of St Bernard a peace was patched up in 1144. In the capture of Vitry a church to which hundreds of innocent persons had fled for refuge, had been burnt, and this sacrilege seems to have weighed on the king's mind and to have confirmed his resolution to take the cross. In 1146 France and Germany were stirred by St Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade. At Whitsuntide 1147 Louis VII. received the banner of St Denis from the Pope's hands at Paris, and in June he and Queen Eleanor started for Palestine by the land route. Of their ill-fated expedition the story will be told elsewhere (see chapter x.). In the absence of the king Suger governed France prudently, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Rheims and the Seneschal, Raoul

The Second Crusade, 1146-1149

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de Vermandois. He suppressed an attempt of the King's brother, Robert of Dreux, to seize the crown, and Louis VII. returned in 1149 to find his dominions prosperous and at peace.

Suger, the "father of his country," died early in 1151. It was perhaps owing to the loss of his guidance that in the following year Louis VII. committed the fatal error of divorcing his queen, on the plea that their union was within the forbidden degrees of relationship. He had drifted apart from his wife during the crusade and she had given him no male heir to the throne, but the separation had disastrous consequences, for almost immediately Eleanor married Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, son of Geoffrey of Anjou and of the Empress Matilda, and grandson of Henry I. of England. In 1154 Henry succeeded Stephen on the English throne, and became, without question, the most powerful prince in Europe. Henceforward the relations with the Anglo-Angevin power were the chief concern of Louis VII. In 1158, Margaret, his baby-daughter by his second wife Constance of Castile, was betrothed to the three-year-old son of Henry II. and Eleanor, and in 1160 the marriage was celebrated, and the Norman Vexin was handed over to England as the little bride's dowry. Meantime, Henry II. was pressing Eleanor's claims to overlordship in Southern France, where only the personal assistance of Louis VII. saved his brother-in-law, the Count of Toulouse, from complete defeat, while in the North, English influence was used to detach the great feudatories from their allegiance to the French king. But a few years later the tide of fortune turned in favour of France. The quarrel between Henry II. and Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, enabled Louis VII., already

Divorce of Queen Eleanor, 1152

Marriage of Eleanor to Henry of Anjou, 1152

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the protector of the fugitive Pope Alexander III., to give shelter to the exiled English prelate, and to make his profit out of the difficulties of his rival. In 1165, too, his third wife, Adela of Champagne, daughter of his former enemy Theobald IV., gave birth to a son, the "God-given" (*Dieudonné*) Philip Augustus. Contemporary chroniclers describe the joy which spread throughout France when the news of the birth of the heir to the throne was known. Bells pealed, the churches echoed with songs of thanksgiving, and the streets of Paris blazed with torches and wax lights. The Welsh historian, Gerald de Barry, then a student at Paris, tells how he saw two old women with tapers in their hands running madly along the street, and how, in answer to his questions, they cried out that God had given them a king, "a right royal heir," through whom shame and misfortune should one day befall the English king.

Birth of Philip Augustus, 1165

War was declared between France and England in 1167, and continued intermittently till 1172. The negotiations between Henry II. and Becket dragged slowly on, for though Louis VII. consistently supported the archbishop, the Pope, Alexander III., afraid of driving the powerful English king into the arms of the imperial party and the anti-pope, pursued a cautious and hesitating policy. At length, in 1170, Becket was allowed to return to England, but the murder of the archbishop, which followed at the close of the year, put Henry II. entirely in the wrong, and greatly strengthened the hands of his enemies. In 1173 Louis VII. was able to strike another blow at England by supporting Henry's rebellious sons in their revolt against their father. The faithfulness of Henry's English ministers, his personal promptitude and energy and

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the incapacity of his opponents, alone enabled him to hold his own against the dangerous coalition of the young princes and their mother Eleanor, the chief feudatories of France and England, and the kings of Scotland and France. As it was, the Earls of Chester and Leicester and the King of Scots were taken prisoners, the rebels were everywhere defeated, Louis VII. was forced to abandon the siege of Rouen, and in 1174 peace was concluded. The last six years of the life of Louis VII. were uneventful. A definitive peace was made with England in 1177 by the intervention of the Pope. In 1179 the young Philip fell dangerously ill, and Louis made a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb at Canterbury to pray for his son's restoration to health. The prince recovered, and legend soon told how St Thomas had appeared and had declared that he had chosen Philip to be the avenger of his death and the despoiler of his murderers. When on All Saints' Day (November 1) 1179 Philip was crowned and anointed joint-king at Rheims, in the presence of a great assembly of nobles and ecclesiastics, his father, the actual king, was absent from the ceremony. He had been struck down by paralysis, and in less than a year, in the autumn of 1180, he died, and Philip II. reigned in his stead.

Coronation of Philip Augustus, 1179

Though Louis VII. cannot lay claim to greatness, his reign saw a considerable advance in the power of the French monarchy. He intervened in the affairs of southern France, married his sister to the Count of Toulouse, and himself took as his second wife a daughter of the King of Castile. He had relations with Auvergne and with Burgundy, and his alliance with the Church gave him both moral prestige and national influence. Under Louis VI. and Louis VII. may be traced the

Rise of the Communes

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beginning of that great movement of municipal development which covered France with free self-governing *communes* and privileged towns, the *villes neuves* of the North, the *bastides* of the southern provinces. The towns of southern France, like the Lombard communes, early rose to independence. They won charters and rights of self-government from the king, granting them such privileges as the election of their magistrates, the collection of their taxes, or the control over their militia. Of these charters Louis VI. issued not a few, and Louis VII. followed his example, while the minister Suger is said to have been the first to found a *ville neuve* or *bastide*, a privileged town to which settlers were attracted by the offer of exceptional advantages. If Louis VI. and his son were not the originators of the communal movement, they were patrons of the trading classes and protectors of the weak and oppressed. Louis VII., in particular, founded many communes and *villes neuves*, and his reign marked the alliance of the king with the people and the Church against the overbearing and tyrannical feudal nobles. Like his great contemporary Henry II. of England, he relied on the middle class in his struggle with the baronage, and raised up "new men" (*novi homines*), often of lowly origin, to help in the work of government and to act as a check on the judicial and administrative power of the aristocracy.

AUTHORITIES

HUTTON: Philip Augustus [Foreign Statesmen.]

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CHAPTER VIII

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RENAISSANCE

THE monastic and educational reforms of the eleventh century were but the prelude to that great revival of religion and learning, that "wonderful deepening and broadening of the stream of human culture," which has been called the "twelfth-century Renaissance." The new life first made itself felt in a movement of monastic expansion and reorganization in which Cluny, fallen from her early purity, had to yield to younger rivals. The last years of the eleventh century and the opening of the twelfth century were marked by the foundation of many new religious Orders, offshoots from the reformed Cluniac Benedictinism, but distinguished from the original congregation by special individual characteristics.

Monastic Revival

The Order of Grandmont (1073-1076) preserved the Cluniac congregational idea of affiliation or federation (see p. 56), but followed no fixed system. The Order might possess neither land nor churches, nor any animals, "except bees." The monks lived on alms, or, like the later Mendicant Friars, begged their daily bread. About 1084 St Bruno, a German, founded the Carthusian Order, which had its first home in a rocky mountain valley near Grenoble in Dauphiné. Bruno retained the congregational idea, but he tried to unite it with the idea of the hermit life. The Carthusians were communities of solitaries. They had common buildings and a common rule, but each

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monk had his separate cell, where he worked, ate and slept, and lived in almost perpetual silence, a life of prayer and meditation. A third Order, founded at Fontevrault by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel, combined religious houses for men and women in one organization, over which, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, a woman presided, as abbess. A similar idea is found in the one English Order, founded by Gilbert of Sempringham in the first half of the twelfth century, a period which also saw the institution of the Order of the Trappists. More important than all in its influence on society was the great Cistercian Order. In 1098 Robert, a monk of Molême, founded the abbey of Cîteaux near Dijon, for the strict and literal observance of the Benedictine rule. Under the masterly direction of the second abbot, the Englishman Stephen, or Harding, the monastery became the centre of a widespread religious Order. In 1119 the Pope sanctioned the "Charter of Charity" (*Carta Caritatis*), the constitution which Stephen had devised for Cîteaux and its branches. The congregational idea was maintained: all the houses of the Order were affiliated, directly or indirectly, to the central abbey, and were subject to supervision and visitation; but the absolute power of the chief abbot was limited by the introduction of an aristocratic element. The abbots of the first four daughter-houses of the Order, La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115), and Morimond (1115) were empowered in case of need to admonish the Abbot of Cîteaux, and to depose him in a General Chapter. The Cistercians carried the old Benedictine principles to excess. They introduced asceticism even into the sacred rites of worship. Their churches were bare and plain, their vestments of linen or fustian, their holy vessels of

The Cistercian Order

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silver, their crosses of wood. Stained-glass windows, pictures and images were prohibited, and the divine services were celebrated with the utmost simplicity. Their monasteries also were severe in style, and situated in remote valleys, forests or marshy places, far from all civilization. They wore garments of undyed wool, woven from the fleeces of their own sheep. Hence they were called "white" or "grey monks," in contradistinction to the Black Benedictines. As an early satirist of the Order unkindly hints, they suggested those false prophets in sheep's clothing, who within were ravening wolves. Living thus, withdrawn from the world, in hardship and self-mortification, the Cistercians seemed to be concerned with the salvation of their own souls rather than with the regeneration of humanity. Yet perhaps no monastic body has done more for the material welfare and social development of Christendom than the Cistercian Order. They, even more than the Benedictines, were the "first settlers," the "pioneers" of the waste places of Western Europe. They were the founders of the great wool trade, the sheep farmers of the early Middle Ages. Noble and peasant, clad in the same rude dress, worked side by side in clearing and cultivating the land, draining marshes, tending flocks and herds, and, in the words of a twelfth-century writer "turning thickets into cornfields, and osier-beds into vineyards." The Order spread with amazing rapidity, among all classes, and in all the countries of Europe. As early as 1115 St Bernard went forth from Cîteaux to found the daughter-house of Clairvaux. There were soon two thousand Cistercian monasteries and nunneries in existence, each with some five or six dependent "cells" or "granges." Before the first half of the twelfth century was at an end,

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William of Malmesbury, an English Benedictine, could write:—"The Cistercian Order . . . is now both believed and asserted to be the surest road to heaven. The Cistercian monks at the present day are a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent."

The Regular Canons or Austin Canons

Another Order, the Regular Canons or Austin Canons, was instituted to introduce a stricter discipline into the chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches.[1] The Austin Canons, called after St Augustine of Hippo, formed a link between the monks proper, or regular clergy, and the non-monastic or secular clergy. They were clerks who led the life of monks, who were bound by a rule, and took the threefold monastic vow. Before long communities or congregations of the Order were established: the Regular Canons were organized in religious houses governed by abbots. The two most famous abbeys of Canons were St Victor at Paris and Prémontré near Laon, which was founded in the twelfth century by the German St Norbert, the "new apostle" of the Order. Norbert saw in a vision the site of his famous abbey, the "pré montré" (*pratum monstratum: the field shown or revealed*), a lonely marsh in a wild forest. Here he planted his white-robed "Order of clerks," who combined the pastoral care of souls, the "parish work" of the secular clergy, with the personal asceticism and self-denial of the monk. When the Emperor Lothair made Norbert Archbishop of Magdeburg, he founded a Premonstratensian house in his

St Norbert and the Premonstratensians

[1] The name of "chapter" was given to the body of clerks attached to the church of the cathedral, where there was a bishop's seat (*cathedra*), or to the "colleges" of priests who officiated in towns where there was no cathedral.

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cathedral city, which became a centre for mission-work among the Slavs.

St Bernard of Clairvaux, 1091-1153

The whole spirit of the reformed Benedictinism, its mystic fervour, its passionate zeal, its fanatical self-mortification, found expression in St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the typical monk of the best days of monasticism, "a man to be held in undying remembrance, the mirror of honest conversation." The events of the first half of the twelfth century group themselves round St Bernard as about a natural centre. Born in 1091, in the midst of the investiture controversy, he died in 1153, at the opening of the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. It was he who ended the papal schism of 1130, and won general recognition for Innocent II. The Pope Eugenius III., a Cistercian monk, was his pupil and friend. He preached the Second Crusade and induced the Emperor Conrad III. to take the cross. He was the chief founder of the Order of the Templars, and their rule was to a great extent his work. Though he was ardent in the cause of religious and moral reform, he was always the champion of orthodoxy and the determined opponent of innovations in doctrine, and of heresy of every kind.

St Bernard was a Burgundian of noble birth, the son of a brave and chivalrous father, a knight of Fontaines near Dijon, and of a devout and tender mother. Fragile in body and sensitive in spirit, Bernard early turned from the turmoil of the world to the repose of a religious life. His brothers, his kinsmen and his friends, moved by his exhortations, followed him to the monastery of Cîteaux, and women hid their husbands and sons, lest they should become converted to monasticism by the persuasive words of the fiery young preacher. At Cîteaux Bernard threw himself eagerly into the life of

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labour and worship and carried abstinence and self-denial even beyond the strict requirements of the rule. When in 1115 a new community was started, he became the abbot of the daughter-house, the rude building in a lonely valley which was destined to grow into the great monastery of Clairvaux. The abbot's cell, in an angle between the stairs and the roof, was so low that a man could scarcely stand upright in it; his bed was of planks, with logs for pillows, his seat was roughly hewn out of the wall. From this humble retreat Bernard went forth to dictate to Popes and Emperors, and to stir the whole of Western Europe by the force of his eloquence and the charm of his personality. Miracles were soon attributed to him: he was supposed to have the power of healing the sick and of casting out devils; his preaching, it was said, could arouse the sleeping and might almost quicken the dead. Something of the secret of his influence may be gathered from his own writings, treatises, sermons and letters, and from the stories told of him by his biographers. In these he shows himself vehement and yet gentle, inspired and poetic, yet shrewd and racy; rhetorical and fanciful, yet weighty and serious. He reduced his body to a shadow by austerities, and so detached himself from the world of sense that he could drink oil for water without noticing the difference. Yet he was a friend to animals and a lover of nature, and could write to a pupil:—"You will find more in woods than in books. Trees and stones will teach you what you could never learn from masters." Inflexible even to cruelty in his treatment of heretics, he was nevertheless the protector of the persecuted Jews. But with all these seeming inconsistencies he remained the single-minded and devoted son of the Church which canonized him after his death.

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He was the embodiment of the orthodox religious spirit of the age, and a great modern historian (Giesebrecht) has traced his influence to his gift for expressing the thoughts that lay, more or less consciously, in the minds of all his contemporaries.

The three great events in which St Bernard's public activity was chiefly seen were the papal schism of 1130, the struggle with the "philosophical heretic" Abélard, and the Second Crusade. Six years after the failure of the unfortunate expedition to the Holy Land, three years after the death of his friend Suger, Abbot of St Denis, the Abbot of Clairvaux passed away, raising his "dove-like eyes" to heaven. "He was," wrote the chronicler Otto of Freisingen, "venerable in life and manners, skilled in the knowledge of letters, renowned for signs and wonders."

Scholastic free-thought

Side by side with this quickening of the orthodox religious life went a development of the spirit of free enquiry and speculation, which led to heresy and revolt against the old traditional beliefs. In the middle of the eleventh century Berengar, the schoolmaster (*scholasticus*) of the cathedral church of Tours, had questioned the accepted doctrine of the Eucharist, and had been confuted by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and forced to recant. Somewhat later the bold thinker Roscelin, the "herald of the Renaissance," attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, and was answered by St Anselm, who taught that belief must come before understanding (*credo, ut intelligam*). Berengar and Roscelin were the precursors of the far greater Abélard, a restless, many-sided, brilliant genius, the typical child of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

Abélard

Peter Abélard, the eldest son of a noble Breton family,

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was possessed from his childhood by a burning zeal for knowledge which led him to give up all else in its pursuit. He has been called "the knight-errant of dialetic," or logic, the favourite subject of mediæval study. "I scoured the provinces," he wrote of himself, "hastening wherever I heard that the study of this art (logic) flourished, in order to argue and dispute." He worked under the most renowned teachers of the day, Roscelin, William of Champeaux, the logician of the cathedral school of Paris, and Anselm, the theologian of Laon. Everywhere he came as a disturbing element, to show himself wiser than his masters and to expose the weak points in their systems of philosophy. His own school on the Mont Ste Geneviève at Paris was crowded with eager students, and the fame of his lectures drew scholars from all parts of civilized Europe. When a romantic and unhappy passion for his pupil and future wife Heloisa drove him from Paris, he became a monk at St Denis, yet he continued to dispute and lecture, till in 1121 the Council of Soissons condemned his opinions as unorthodox. In 1122 Abbot Suger permitted him to retire from St Denis to a solitary place at Quincey, near Nogent in Champagne, where he built himself a little oratory of reeds and thatch, and dedicated it to the "Paraclete," the "Comforter." Even here students thronged around him, and the lonely oratory was soon the centre of a cluster of rude huts and cabins. After a short experience of this novel kind of hermit life, Abélard was appointed Abbot of St Gildas in his native Britanny. Here, amidst savage and unruly monks, in a wild and desolate country, he dragged out several miserable years, until he succeeded in escaping from his uncongenial surroundings and resuming his lectures in Paris. To

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this period apparently belong many of the logical and philosophical works which have made him famous. He tried to steer a middle course between the extreme views of conflicting schools of philosophy, but he alarmed the orthodox party by his daring methods of thought. He was not afraid to question: he would not accept conclusions until they had been tested by reason. "By doubting," he wrote, "we are led to enquire: by enquiry we perceive the truth." This fearless trust in human reason as a guide to truth brought upon him the enmity of St Bernard, the champion of unquestioning faith and of submission to the authority of the Church. Condemned by the Council of Sens and by Pope Innocent II., Abélard found a refuge in the Abbey of Cluny. "Renouncing the tumult of schools and lectures, he chose for himself a lasting dwelling-place." In 1142 he ended his chequered career in a Cluniac priory at Châlons. He was buried at the Paraclete, his former oratory, now transformed into a nunnery, under the rule of Heloisa. For the moment St Bernard and the orthodox party had triumphed, but the final victory was destined to fall to the supporters of free thought and rational enquiry. The devout monk Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, could write of Abélard that he was "the servant of Christ and truly Christ's philosopher." His pupils remembered him as "an illustrious teacher, admired of all men." When in 1148, at the Council of Rheims, St Bernard tried to procure the condemnation for heresy of another liberal philosopher, Gilbert de la Porrée, the learned Bishop of Poitiers, the cardinals present at the Council opposed him, and Gilbert was allowed to return in peace to his diocese. In the next generation, Peter the Lombard, Abélard's disciple, was made Bishop of Paris, and his

Gilbert de la Porrée

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"Sentences" (*Sententiæ*) became the standard text-book of mediæval theology.

Theological and moral Reformers and Heretics

Berengar, Roscelin and Abélard were scholars who criticized theology from the standpoint of philosophy. There were other twelfth-century reformers who sought to purify the Church from within, while others, again, attacked the dogmas of Christianity, and aimed at replacing the ancient faith by a new religion. Among Christian reformers the most famous were the *Vaudois*, Waldenses, or "Poor Men of Lyons," the followers of Peter Valdo, a Lyons merchant who devoted himself to a life of poverty, wandered about the country preaching the Gospel, and caused portions of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue. Excommunicated as heretics by Pope Lucius III., the Waldenses found sympathizers in Burgundy and Dauphiné, and soon spread into Lorraine, Provence, Italy and Spain. Like the later Protestants they desired to restore the primitive simplicity of the Catholic Church, rejected the ordination of priests, the worship of saints, the belief in purgatory and the doctrine of transubstantiation, and laid stress on the reading of Scripture, on prayer and on preaching.

The Vaudois or Waldenses

The "Cathari"

Far more dangerous were the heretics who dared to question the truth of Christianity itself. From the beginning of the eleventh century the growth of heretical opinions can be traced in Northern France, and under Robert the Pious men were burnt at the stake for their religion. It is difficult to discover the origin or to define the beliefs of these early heretics, the *Cathari* as they are often called, but they seem to have had much in common with the Albigenses of the thirteenth century. The *Cathari* held that the world was governed by two principles, one good and one evil, and they regarded the

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whole material universe as the work of the devil, the father of evil. Hence they condemned all bodily pleasures, worldly cares and family ties, and the "perfect" Cathari were celibates and ascetics. These were the priests and leaders of the sect, who preached to the "believers," or ordinary members, and administered the *consolamentum* (consolation), a sort of baptism, conferred by the laying on of hands. The "Cathari" did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Humanity of Christ. They did not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and their activity in denouncing the laxity of the orthodox clergy and in spreading the new teaching was felt to be a serious menace to the influence of Catholicism in France. During the first half of the twelfth century, also, Provence and Languedoc were roused by the preaching of Peter de Bruis and his disciple Henry of Lausanne, who had wandered from Burgundy and Switzerland to Maine and Aquitaine, declaiming everywhere against the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Though St Bernard visited Toulouse in person, to undo the harm done by "the cunning serpent," Henry of Lausanne, heretical opinions spread rapidly, and the "Petrobrussians" and "Henricians" prepared the way for the "Albigenses" of the southern provinces.

Peter de Bruis and Henry of Lausanne

AUTHORITIES

CHURCH: St Anselm.
MORISON: St Bernard.

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CHAPTER IX

GERMANY AND ITALY UNDER LOTHAIR II. AND CONRAD III.

[1125-1152]

Lothair II., 1125-1137

ON St Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1125, the princes of Germany assembled at Mainz to elect a king in the place of Henry V., who had left no child to succeed him. Forty electors, chosen from the four "nations" of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia and Saxony, selected three candidates, Frederick Duke of Swabia, Lothair Duke of Saxony, and Leopold Marquis of Austria. Frederick was the nephew of Henry V., the son of his sister Agnes and of Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia. He was in the prime of life, brave, generous and popular. He had inherited Henry V.'s private property and had been named by him as his successor, and he was connected by marriage with the powerful Welfs of Bavaria. Since, however, he represented the imperial traditions of the Salian dynasty, the enemies of that dynasty, the feudal party and the papal party, led by Adalbert Archbishop of Mainz, combined to secure the election of Lothair of Saxony, who had grown old in opposition to Henry V. Though Lothair is often called a "king of the priests," his accession was in truth a triumph for the party of feudal reaction. The elective character of the German monarchy had been emphasized and the right to make and unmake kings had been successfully asserted by the great feudatories. "The proclamation of

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the elective monarchy gave the future into the hands of the princes."

Frederick of Swabia acquiesced in his defeat, but his refusal to give up some of Henry V.'s estates soon brought upon him the ban of the Empire and led to civil war. In 1127 Conrad of Franconia, Frederick's younger brother, was proclaimed as anti-king, and in defiance of the Pope's sentence of excommunication, went down into Italy and received the iron crown of the Lombards from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan.

Roger of Sicily

In Italy, meanwhile, Roger of Sicily, son of the great Count Roger, had taken advantage of the death without direct heirs of William Duke of Apulia, Robert Guiscard's grandson (see Table IV.), to make himself master of the Apulian duchy. The Pope, Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus II., vainly attempted to prevent the union of Sicily and Southern Italy under one ruler. In 1128 he unwillingly consented to invest Roger with Apulia and Calabria, only reserving Benevento for the Holy See, and stipulating for the independence of Capua. When Honorius II. died in 1130, the Papacy became once more the prey of aristocratic factions. The noble house of the Frangipani, the leaders of the imperial party in Rome, with a minority of the cardinals chose the cardinal-deacon Gregory of St Angelo to be Pope Innocent II., while on the same day the papal party elected the cardinal-priest Pierleone, the son of a wealthy and influential converted Jew, as Pope Anacletus II. As in the days of Henry III. the Papacy was divided and the rival Popes bid for the favour of the German king. Anacletus obtained possession of the city of Rome, yet though Innocent was forced to fly to Pisa, he was accepted as rightful Pope in France, England and Spain. The monastic Orders were

Papal Schism of 1130

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on his side, and, above all, he had the sanction of the two great leaders of religious thought, St Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians, and St Bernard, the founder of the Abbey of Clairvaux (see Chap. VIII.). After some hesitation, Lothair also declared for him, and Anacletus had to fall back on an alliance with Roger of Sicily, whom he rewarded with the title of King. In 1132 Lothair crossed the Alps. Innocent II. joined him in Italy, and together they entered Rome, supported by the Pisan and Genoese fleets.

Lothair II. crowned Emperor by Innocent II., 1133

On June 4, 1133, Innocent II. crowned Lothair Emperor in the Lateran, since Anacletus held St Peter's and the castle of St Angelo. On June 8th the Pope confirmed the Concordat of Worms and invested Lothair and his son-in-law, Henry of Bavaria, with the vast estates of the Countess Matilda, in return for a yearly rent. The great Countess had given her property to the Holy See in her lifetime, but she also seems to have recognized Henry V. as her heir, and on her death he took possession of her lands without opposition or protest from the Pope. Now, by accepting investiture from Innocent II., Lothair acknowledged the papal right to the Matildine inheritance, and prepared endless difficulties for his successors. For the time, however, he had greatly strengthened his position in Northern Italy, and he returned to Germany to receive the submission of the Hohenstaufen brothers, Frederick of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia, to give peace to his kingdom and to extend German influence to the east and north. In later days Innocent II. caused a picture to be painted in which Lothair was represented as doing homage to the Pope and receiving the imperial crown from his hand. In reality, in 1134 the Pope was too weak to stand alone, and when the Emperor

Frederick of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia

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withdrew from Rome, he took refuge once more in Pisa. In 1136 he induced Lothair to intervene in the affairs of Southern Italy. With the assistance of German troops Roger was driven out of the peninsula, while Rainulf Count of Alife received a grant of the duchy of Apulia, and Robert of Capua was confirmed in his principality. But Pope and Emperor quarrelled over Rainulf's investiture, and Lothair returned to Germany, to sicken of Italian fever and die on December 3, 1137, in a poor cottage in the Tyrol. His epitaph recorded that he was "a man ever faithful in Christ, true, steadfast, peaceable, and a dauntless warrior." "Had he not been prevented by death," wrote the chronicler Otto of Freisingen, "his courage and perseverance would have restored the imperial crown to its former dignity."

Death of Lothair II., Dec. 3, 1137

On his death-bed Lothair II. delivered the royal insignia to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, the Welf Duke of Bavaria, whom in 1127 he had married to his only daughter and heiress, Gertrude of Supplinburg. To this union of the Saxon and Bavarian duchies Lothair had mainly owed his successful establishment on the throne of Germany. Henry the Proud had become Marquis of Tuscany since the death of the great Countess, and everything seemed to mark him out as Lothair's successor. But his very power alarmed the Church party, who feared to find in him a master and a tyrant. The papal legate and the Archbishop of Trier (Treves) made overtures to Conrad of Hohenstaufen, and he was hurriedly chosen king by an assembly in which neither Saxony nor Bavaria was represented. With the struggle between Conrad III. and Henry the Proud began the historic feud of Welf and Waiblingen, "Guelf and Ghibeline," which widened from a dynastic quarrel into the irreconcilable antagonism

Henry the Proud and the alliance of Lothair II. with the Welfs

Election of Conrad III., 1138

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between the Papacy, represented by the Welfs, and the Hohenstaufen monarchs, on whose ancestral lands lay the village of Waiblingen. At first, however, the Pope and the Church supported the Hohenstaufen. Though Henry resigned the royal insignia to Conrad, there could be no peace with the proud duke who boasted that his dominions stretched "from sea to sea," from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. In 1138 Henry was deprived of his duchies. Saxony was given to the able margrave of the North March, Albert the Bear, and Bavaria to Conrad's half-brother, Leopold of Austria. The Welfs drove Albert out of Saxony, but in 1139 Henry the Proud died prematurely, leaving his claims to a ten-year-old son, Henry "the Lion." In the following year Conrad defeated the Welf forces at Weinsberg,[1] and in 1142 a treaty was concluded whereby Henry the Lion recovered the Saxon duchy. The duchy of Bavaria, vacant since the death of Leopold of Austria in 1141, was granted in 1143 to Leopold's brother Henry, who had married Gertrude, the mother of Henry the Lion. Two years later, private ambitions and jealousies were forgotten in the enthusiasm roused by St Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade (see Chap. X.). Conrad III. took the cross in 1146. In 1147, after the solemn election and coronation of his young son Henry as joint-king of Germany, he started for the Holy Land. With him went his nephew, Frederick of Swabia, and a great company of German nobles, while the Saxons and the North-German princes, amongst them Henry the Lion aud Albert the Bear, turned their arms against the heathen Slavs of the north-eastern frontier, and organized a crusade on European soil which resulted

[1] It is at this battle that the cries "Hie Welf," "Hie Waiblingen" are, probably erroneously, said to have been first raised.

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in the conversion of Pomerania and the eastward extension of the German power. Conrad III. returned from Syria in 1149 to find Count Welf, uncle of Henry the Lion, in open revolt. In 1150 the young king, who had won fame by defeating the Welfs in a pitched battle, died suddenly. His brother was a child of six years old, Henry the Lion was renewing his claims on Bavaria, and the future of Germany looked dark and uncertain, when in February 1152, in the midst of his preparations for an expedition to Italy, Conrad breathed his last at Bamberg, naming as his successor his brave and experienced nephew, Frederick, Duke of Swabia.

Affairs of Italy

The fifteen years of the reign of Conrad III., for Germany years of "much sadness and the tumult of many wars," were for Italy also a time of discord and civil strife. The commanding figures of Popes and Emperors, which in the eleventh century occupy almost the whole stage of history, fall into the background in the first half of the twelfth century, and interest centres in St Bernard, the inspired monk, in Abélard and Arnold of Brescia, the scholastic and political reformers, in the rising liberties of the Lombard communes, and in the growth of the Sicilian monarchy under Roger I., the statesman-king.[1]

The papal schism was ended by the mediation of St Bernard in 1139, and all the princes of Europe recognized Innocent II. as Pope except Roger of Sicily, who had reconquered Southern Italy since Lothair's death. Innocent tried to subdue him by force of arms, but, like Robert Guiscard before him, Roger succeeded in taking the Pope prisoner, and while he treated him with the utmost respect, he wrung from him a confirmation of his title to Sicily,

[1] He is sometimes called Roger II., and "the Great Count" is reckoned as Roger I.

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Roger I. acknowledged as King of Sicily

Apulia and Capua. Henceforward Roger styled himself "King of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia and of the principality of Capua." Yet he held his kingdom of the Pope, not of the Emperor, and he acknowledged the papal overlordship by a yearly tribute. Thus the kingdom of Sicily was definitely established, and Roger could devote himself to the internal administration and the external expansion of his dominions. He was a true Norman, energetic and self-willed, resolute aud ambitious. A born administrator and a subtle politician, he had the grasp of detail and the capacity for taking pains which often characterize great practical statesmen. He towered over the crowd of officials who carried out his decrees, a commanding figure, stern and self-contained, slow to decide, but prompt to act. In his dealings with the varied races under his rule he showed a wise tolerance. Greeks, Arabs, Normans, and Englishmen were alike employed in the work of government, which was carried on by means of a highly organized administrative system. Mohammedan infidels and Greek schismatics practised their religion side by side with orthodox Latin Catholics. As a lawgiver Roger borrowed from Roman law, yet kept what was good in the customs of his own people. His official documents were drawn up in Latin, Greek and Arabic, his coins bore Arabic inscriptions, he patronized Arab and Greek writers and men of science, and the architecture of Sicily still bears traces of Byzantine and Saracen influence. Nor was his energy confined to his Italian provinces. Malta was made subject to Sicily, and the commercial routes between East and West were secured by the Sicilian conquests in Northern Africa. In Europe Roger held Conrad III. in check by his intrigues with the Welf party, while he took advantage

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of the Second Crusade to invade the Byzantine Empire. Thebes and Corinth were sacked, and the Emperor Manuel Comnenus was forced in self-defence to ally himself with Germany. When Roger I. died in 1154, the kingdom of Sicily ranked among the great powers of the Western world. While the Normans were thus building up a strong monarchical power in Southern Italy, the north of the peninsula saw a political development of another kind, the growth of municipal liberty and of independent city states. Northern Italy seems formed by nature to be a land of cities. Between the mountain-walls of the Alps and the Apennines the great plain of Lombardy, watered by the river Po and its tributaries, sweeps down to the Adriatic Sea. The passes which are the gates into Italy from the outside world are set in the mountain barrier, and cities have sprung up where the roads from these defiles converged, or at the passage of rivers, or on the sea-coast of Adriatic or Mediterranean. The dwellers in the plain, too, from early days clustered together in close-packed groups, on rising ground, lifted above the malarious vapours of the marshy flats, and still the traveller in Northern and Central Italy comes upon these half-forgotten towns, often mere villages in size, yet each with its crown of towers, its walls and gates, its public buildings and churches, its own peculiar history and traditions. The mediæval roads from France into Italy crossed the Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre to Susa and Turin, or the Great and Little St Bernard to Aosta. They met at Pavia on the Ticino, the political capital of the Gothic and Lombard kings and of their Frank and German successors. Immediately to the north of Pavia lay its rival Milan, at the point of con-

Rise of the Lombard Communes

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vergence of the roads from a group of central Alpine passes and defiles, the St Gotthard, the Splügen, and the valleys, which led from Burgundy and southern Germany into the lovely conntry of the Italian Lakes. Milan was the Rome of the North, the ancient capital of the Roman Emperors, the later ecclesiastical centre of Northern Italy, the city of St Ambrose, as Rome was the city of St Peter. South of Pavia, Piacenza gathered up the roads from the west, and held the passage of the Po at the head of the wedge of marsh which ran inland from the Adriatic, and made the river difficult to cross in its lower waters. Far to the east, Verona commanded the Adige and the junction of the eastern road with the road from the Tyrol which crossed the Brenner Pass. Another road from the Brenner ran to Venice, "Queen of the Adriatic," while on the western Mediterranean shore coast roads led southwards from Genoa to Pisa and Rome.

The tenth century saw Northern Italy a prey to the raids of Saracen pirates and of the Magyar hordes who in 924 sacked Pavia. The cities, in self-defence, surrounded themselves with walls, and trained their inhabitants in warlike exercises. In the break-up of the Empire of Charles the Great, the bishops of Lombardy gradually replaced the feudal counts and margraves as rulers of the cities. In the eleventh century the citizens began to free themselves from the yoke of the bishops and to become independent "communes" with a well-organized municipal government, and rights and privileges guaranteed by Imperial charters. At the head of the city-state were the "consuls," elective officers generally chosen annually, varying in number in the different cities. They acted with the advice and approval

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of the Council "di Credenza," and two other assemblies, the Senate or General Council, representing the free citizens, and the "Parlamento," the general gathering of the burgesses, summoned by the city bell on great occasions. The non-military class of free tradesmen also formed guilds or trade associations, and the military class of nobles who lived in the cities, had their own associations and their fortified houses and towers. By the early years of the eleventh century the Lombard cities were well established in self-government and independence, and were beginning to use their new strength in rivalry with one another. When Henry II. came down into Italy in 1013 (see p. 27) Pavia and Milan were already rivals. Pavia rebelled against Conrad II. (see p. 29) and Milan supported him. Then, when Milan revolted under Archbishop Aribert, Pavia went over to the Emperor, and remained to the end the faithful supporter of the imperial cause. During the investiture struggle the cities sided either with Pope or Emperor, while the development of the reform-party of the Patarini divided them within themselves (see p. 74). The Patarini took up the papal cause; the Lombard bishops and nobles, on the whole, tended to favour the Emperor. About this time, too, began the open strife of city against city, and the struggle between the cities and the nobles of the country districts. There were six wars between Pavia and Milan in a hundred and thirty-seven years (1013-1150). Early in the eleventh century Milan quarrelled with Lodi, and razed it to the ground, and scattered its inhabitants among six neighbouring villages. The years from 1117 to 1127 were shadowed by the fierce struggle between Milan and Como, which has been compared to the ten years' Trojan War.

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The beautiful shores of the Lake of Como were the scene of endless fighting and bloodshed before, in 1127, Como too submitted to Milan, the "hammer of her neighbours" (*Malleus Conterminorum*). Meanwhile the cities had gradually absorbed the smaller nobles, and forced them to spend at least a part of the year within their walls. When Otto of Freisingen, the uncle of the Emperor Frederick I., wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, he could declare that almost all the Lombard nobles, except the Marquis of Montferrat, owned the supremacy of the cities. There was thus in Italy a sort of civic nobility, with estates and castles in the country, and the nobles seem to have mixed freely with the citizens proper, so that Otto of Freisingen noted with surprise that the Lombards did not disdain to admit those young artisans to the honour of knighthood whom other nations excluded "like the plague" from the more honourable and liberal callings.

The cities of Tuscany, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and their neighbours, won independence in much the same way as the Lombard communes, if somewhat more slowly. The rival coast-towns of Pisa and Genoa, enriched and stimulated by the crusading movement (see Chap. X.), early rose to power and importance, while Venice, proudly aloof among the lagoons of the Adriatic, turned her face to the East, and built up her Empire of the sea.

Rome

At Rome, impatience of papal and aristocratic rule led to a civic revolution, and the establishment of a republican form of government. In 1143 the Romans, incensed at the Pope's refusal to deliver up to their vengeance the rival town of Tivoli, shook off the papal yoke, freed themselves from the despotism of the great noble families,

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seized the Capitol and restored the ancient Senate. Innocent II. died in the midst of the tumult; of his three immediate successors, one, Celestine II., only lived for a few troubled months, another, Lucius II., was mortally wounded in besieging the Capitol, and the third, the pupil of St Bernard, Eugenius III., was forced to fly from Rome. The new hopes and dreams of the Roman citizens found expression in the teaching of the "political heretic," Arnold of Brescia, the eloquent and devoted disciple of Abélard. Excommunicated and exiled from his native Brescia, where he had supported the citizens against the bishop, Arnold went to Paris, and when Abélard retired from the school on the Mont Ste Geneviève, he for a while took his place. Driven from Paris also by the hatred of the orthodox party, he sought a refuge in Switzerland. He was then reconciled with the Church and returned to Italy in time to become the leader of the reform movement in Rome. He taught that the Church ought to return to her primitive poverty and that the Pope should abandon his temporal dominion, and confine himself to spiritual and ecclesiastical duties. St Bernard, too, had deplored the wealth and corruption of the Church, and sighed for the days "when the Apostles cast their nets to catch, not gold or silver, but souls." But St Bernard believed in the supremacy of the Papacy over all temporal powers; he warned the Romans that Rome without the Pope was like a body without a head, and he denounced Arnold of Brescia as "the armour-bearer of the Goliath Abélard," a man "whose speech was honey, but whose teaching was poison."

Arnold of Brescia, "the armour-bearer of Abélard"

Both the Pope and the Roman Senate appealed to Conrad III. for support. The "Senate and People of Rome" urged him to hasten to their aid with imperial

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power. The city, they said, was at his command, and he might dwell in Rome, the capital of the world, and rule over the whole of Italy and the German Empire. These tempting offers fell on deaf ears. When at last Conrad III. made ready to go down into Italy and claim the imperial crown, it was rather as the friend of the Pope than as the ally of the Roman republic, and when death prevented the realization of his schemes, his policy was carried on with greater vigour and decision by his successor, Frederick Barbarossa.

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CHAPTER X

THE COMNENI AND THE TWO FIRST CRUSADES

[1081-1192]

Alexius I., Comnenus, 1081-1118.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, whom a successful rebellion had placed on the imperial throne of Constantinople in 1081, was at the time of his accession a short, stout young man of insignificant appearance, but of considerable force of character. Quick, subtle, and highly educated, he needed all his strength of will and intellect to meet the difficult situation in which he was placed. The Byzantine court was teeming with intrigue, the Seljuk Turks had seized Nicæa in Asia Minor, and were established within a hundred miles of Constantinople, while the Normans of Southern Italy were threatening the western provinces of the Empire. In 1071, the year of the battle of Manzikert (see p. 68), Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke of Apulia, had taken Bari, the last stronghold of the Eastern Empire in the south of Italy. He regarded himself as the successor of the Byzantine Emperor in the Italian provinces; his daughter was betrothed to a prince of the imperial house. Naturally enough, he dreamt of a further extension of his power, and even of seating himself on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars, as, in 1066, another Norman duke, William the Conqueror, had made himself King of England. In 1081 the weakness of the Empire gave him the opportunity he sought. A Norman army crossed the

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Norman Invasion of the Byzantine Empire

Battle of Dyrrachium, 1081

Straits of Otranto, and Guiscard won a great victory over the Greeks before Dyrrachium or Durazzo, the important seaport which was the key to the Byzantine Empire on its western frontier. The "Varangians," or Imperial bodyguard of mercenaries, Russian, English and Scandinavian, made a gallant stand on a mound by the sea, much as, in 1066, Harold's men had held out on the hill of Senlac, till they were overpowered by the Norman archers and cavalry, and Alexius himself had to fly from the field. Durazzo fell into Guiscard's hands, success followed success, and the way to Constantinople seemed open, when he was recalled to Italy by the crisis in the affairs of the Papacy (see p. 88). His son Bohemond carried on the Eastern campaign with much ability for some time, and Alexius, constantly defeated in pitched battles, was forced to fall back on a policy of intrigue, and of petty harassing attacks. In 1083 the allied Greek and Venetian fleets retook Durazzo, Alexius managed to raise the siege of Larissa, and Bohemond returned to Italy to seek reinforcements. In 1085 the death of Robert Guiscard relieved the Eastern Empire from all immediate danger of a Norman conquest.

Wars with the Patzinaks, Slavs, and Seljuk Turks

Malek Shah, 1072-1092

The next ten years of the reign of Alexius were occupied with struggles with the Patzinaks and Serbs, the unruly tribes of the Balkan peninsula, and with the Seljuk Turks of Asia Minor. The Sultan Alp Arslan (see p. 68) had been succeeded in 1072 by his eldest son, Malek Shah, one of the greatest rulers of the eleventh century, the model of a Mohammedan sovereign. For twenty years he governed his people as a despot indeed, but a just and beneficent despot, in concert with his Vizir or minister Nizam-el-mulk, an enlightened statesman and a patron of art, literature and science. Jerusalem, the Holy City,

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and Antioch, the capital of Syria, were taken by the Turks, and Malek Shah could give thanks to God for permitting him to reign from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. On the death of the great Sultan, the "Master of the World," civil war broke out among his descendants and his Empire was weakened and divided by internal dissensions. The fervour of religious zeal, the sanctification of military service in the cause of God, which had made the Mohammedan armies irresistible, were now transferred to the Christians of Western Europe. The third anniversary of the death of Malek Shah, November 18, 1095, saw the opening of the Council of Clermont in Auvergne, in which Pope Urban II. initiated the crusading movement and gave form and reality to that idea of a Holy War for the recovery of Jerusalem which had long floated dimly before the eyes of devout churchmen and Catholic statesmen. Urban II. made his appeal to a vast multitude, assembled outside the walls of Clermont. He dwelt on the shame and danger of leaving the holy places in the hands of the infidel, and urged his hearers to lay aside their private quarrels and to turn their warlike energy into a better channel by going forth to fight the enemies of the Cross. As he ceased speaking a great cry was heard: "God wills it: God wills it" (*Deus vult: Deus vult*). "This," said the Pope, "is the voice of God. Let these words, *Deus vult*, be your war-cry in the day of battle." The people crowded to receive the red crosses, of cloth or silk, which, worn on the shoulder, back, or breast, marked them as Crusaders, and to take the vow which bound them to follow the "way of the Holy Sepulchre." Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, was appointed papal legate, to lead the host "like another Moses," and as the news of the great

Council of Clermont, 1095

The First Crusade preached by Urban II.

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enterprise spread abroad, the enthusiasm became general. Even in far-off England a chronicler could describe the "mickle stirring of the people." "It was," wrote a French monk, "the work, not of man, but of God."

Urban's eloquence met, indeed, with a ready response. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land had familiarized Western Christendom with the East, while the conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity in the eleventh century had opened up a land route to Syria, along which pilgrims flocked in ever-increasing numbers, until the advance of the Turks and the capture of Jerusalem threw new difficulties in their path and turned peaceful devotees into armed warriors. Yet the Crusaders continued to regard themselves as "God's pilgrims" (*peregrini Dei*), and a contemporary chronicler calls the First Crusade a "happy pilgrimage." The blending of religious purpose with the gratification of the fighting instinct was peculiarly acceptable, also, to an age which was both fiercely warlike and fervently devout. Before the middle of the eleventh century an attempt had been made, under the influence of the Church, to check the growing ferocity of society by the formulation of the Truce or Peace of God, by which hostilities were suspended on the great ecclesiastical festivals, and every week, during the days of Christ's Passion and Resurrection, from Thursday night to Monday morning. The Church Councils supported the movement, and at Clermont the Pope enforced the Truce of God in connexion with the preaching of the Crusade. But whereas the Truce caused private wars to cease temporarily, the Holy War afforded a permanent outlet for the military spirit, and gave peace to Europe by turning the weapons of the combatants against a common infidel foe.

The Truce of God

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The First Crusade, though organized and directed by the Pope, was inspired by a real impulse of popular religious feeling. The excitement ran like wildfire through Western Europe. Peasants yoked their oxen to their farm-carts and went forth with their wives and their little ones and all their scanty household store, in simple faith, seeking Jerusalem. Some fanatics took a goose, others a goat, as their guide, "saying that these were possessed by the Holy Spirit." In northern France Peter the Hermit, a pilgrim returned from the Holy Land, preached the Crusade with such extraordinary success that he has become the hero of legend and romance, and later historians have seen in him the chief instigator of the Holy War. Barefooted and clothed in a rude monastic habit, he rode on a mule from village to village and town to town, speaking to the people with a fiery vehemence which won thousands to take the cross at his bidding. In March 1096 the first band of Crusaders started for the Holy Land under Walter de Poissy and his nephew Walter the Penniless (*Walterus Sinehabere* or *Sansaveir*). Peter the Hermit followed with a great and disorderly host, and after him came bands of Germans whose passage through the towns of Lorraine and southern Germany was marked by terrible massacres of the Jews, the enemies of Christ. While many of these undisciplined troops of Crusaders were scattered or destroyed by the Hungarians, Bohemians and Bulgarians whom they robbed and insulted as they passed through their territory, Peter the Hermit, after some fighting, led his men to Constantinople, where he joined forces with Walter the Penniless. Alexius Comnenus viewed with anxiety the approach of this horde of fanatical adventurers. He at first advised Peter to wait in Constan-

Peter the Hermit

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tinople till the arrival of the main crusading body, but when the Hermit's followers began plundering and burning, and stripping lead from the roofs of the churches, the Emperor hastily shipped them all across the Bosphorus. Here, in the absence of Peter at Constantinople, the Turks fell on the hapless pilgrims, and slew them almost to a man. Meanwhile, the more orderly and regular armies of the chivalry of Western Europe were marching on Constantinople in four main divisions. First came the Germans under Godfrey of Bouillon or Boulogne, Duke of Lower Lorraine, son of Eustace II. Count of Boulogne and grandson through his mother of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lorraine. With him were his brothers Baldwin and Eustace. They traversed Hungary and reached Constantinople in safety, hearing on the way that Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, brother of the King of France, who had started independently on the Crusade, had been taken prisoner by the governor of Durazzo, and handed over by him to Alexius Comnenus. Though Alexius probably did not deserve all the accusations of treachery and perfidy which the Crusaders afterwards heaped upon him, he doubtless intended to turn the crusading movement to his own advantage. He was resolved that all the lands won back from the Turks which had once formed part of the Eastern Empire should be restored to him, and he determined from the outset to bind the crusading leaders to himself by the close feudal tie of homage. After some misunderstanding and even fighting, Godfrey of Boulogne was induced to take the required oath, and to transport his troops to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, before the approach of the second army of Crusaders, the South Italian Normans, under the Emperor's old enemy Bohe-

The Leaders of the Main Host

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mond and his kinsman Tancred. Bohemond was besieging Amalfi with his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily, when news was brought to him that an innumerable company of Frankish warriors were on their way to the Holy Sepulchre. "Straightway," writes a contemporary, "moved by the Holy Spirit, he ordered his costly cloak to be cut up and made into crosses. Then there eagerly flocked unto him the greater part of the knights who were engaged in the siege, so that Roger the Count remained almost alone." Alexius won Bohemond to take the oath of homage by lavish gifts and promises. He had more difficulty with the leader of the third army, Raymond of St Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who, with Adhémar Bishop of Le Puy and the southern French Crusaders marched over the Dalmatian mountains, and crossed the Balkan Peninsula in the spring of 1097. Raymond refused to do homage to Alexius, or to serve any lord save Christ, and it was only after much persuasion that he consented to take a modified oath of fealty to the Emperor. Meanwhile the fourth army, of northern Frenchmen, had wintered in Italy. Robert Count of Flanders, one of the leaders, impatient of delay, pressed on in advance, but the main force, under Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, only arrived at Constantinople in May 1097. All these princes received gifts from the Emperor and took the oath of homage, while Alexius, in return, promised to take the cross himself, to protect the Crusaders and to support them with troops. By the summer the whole crusading host had assembled before Nicæa in Asia Minor, one of the chief cities of the sultanate of Roum or Iconium, which was now a practically independent state under

Siege of Nicæa, May 1097

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Kilij Arslan, a prince of the house of Seljuk. On June 19th Nicæa capitulated to the Greeks, and the Franks found themselves outwitted. Alexius had negotiated secretly with the inhabitants, and just when the Crusaders were hoping to storm the city they saw the imperial standard floating from the walls. They now started for Syria, and after defeating the Turks at Dorylæum, and struggling in the summer heat through an arid mountainous country to Iconium, they reached Antioch on October 21st and encamped before the city, which was strongly fortified and held by a Turkish garrison. The Crusaders blockaded the city, but its great gates and towered walls defied their feeble siege engines, and they were constantly harassed by the attacks of the Turks from without and by the sallies of the garrison from within. Though ships from Genoa and from England brought reinforcements, the crusading leaders were divided among themselves, the native Syrians and Armenians could not be relied on for supplies, and in the summer of 1098 news came that a great host under Kerboga, the Emir of Mosul, was approaching from the east to the relief of Antioch. At this crisis a Turk called Firouz or Pyrrhus, who guarded three of the towers on the wall, offered to betray the city to Bohemond. After wringing a promise from the other princes that Antioch should belong to him if he succeeded in taking it, Bohemond led a small band of his men to the ramparts by night. They scaled the walls by means of a rope-ladder, were admitted to the towers, and opened a gate to their companions. When morning broke Bohemond's standard was seen flying from a height within the city. A general attack followed, the Crusaders swarmed in through the gates which were left unguarded, and Antioch was won. Yet

Battle of Dorylæum, July 1, 1097

Siege of Antioch, Oct. 1097 to June 1098

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the Turks still held out in the citadel, the strong fortress to the south of the city, and the very day after the Crusaders' victory, the vanguard of Kerboga's army appeared before the walls and the besiegers were in their turn besieged by the Turks. Some of the leading Crusaders now lost heart, let themselves down from the ramparts by ropes and fled from the city. "Wherefore, to their undying shame, they were called 'ropedancers.'" Amongst these deserters was Stephen Count of Blois, the brother-in-law of Robert of Normandy. Soon pestilence and famine began to do their deadly work among those who remained, until the besieged were glad to eat the flesh of horses and asses, and to cook the leaves of trees and the hides of animals, to stay their hunger. It was just when the courage of the Crusaders was at its lowest ebb that a seeming revelation from heaven revived their drooping spirits. St Andrew appeared to a Provençal priest called Peter Bartholomew, and told him that the Lance with which the centurion pierced Christ's side was buried in one of the churches of Antioch. After a long day's digging on the spot indicated, as the light began to fail, the Lance was uncovered. "When as yet only the tip appeared above the ground, I kissed it," wrote a Provençal chronicler who was present at the scene. The "Invention" or "Finding" of the Holy Lance gave the Crusaders the stimulus and enthusiasm which they needed, and roused them to further effort. On June 28, 1098, the whole army issued forth from the city, bearing the "Lord's Lance" as a standard, and utterly routed Kerboga's troops. The citadel surrendered shortly afterwards, and the victory of the soldiers of the Cross was complete. The feeling that God was on the side of the Franks, the sense of awe and mystery, and of spiritual forces fighting for

Battle of Antioch, Defeat of Kerboga, June 28, 1098

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the crusading cause, is clearly seen in the contemporary records of the battle of Antioch. "There came forth from the mountains," writes one chronicler, "a countless host, having white horses, with standards all white. And our men knew not what these might be, until they perceived that they were the hosts of Christ, led by St George, St Mercury and St Demetrius." It was this strong vivid faith which made the rank and file of the Crusaders insist on the advance to Jerusalem, and threaten to destroy the walls of Antioch when the princes fell to quarrelling over the spoil. The leaders themselves lost sight of the religious character of the expedition in their haste to gratify their personal ambitions. Even before the crusading host entered Syria, Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey of Boulogne, had left the main army, to win for himself the Armenian lordship of Edessa, and no sooner was Antioch taken than Bohemond and Raymond of Toulouse began to dispute over its possession. When, in November 1098, the Crusaders at length started for the Holy City, this unseemly wrangling continued. After the capture of Marra, the common soldiers actually pulled down part of the town, to compel the princes to go forward. At the siege of Arkah, the next stage on the route, Peter Bartholomew went through an ordeal of fire to prove the genuineness of the Holy Lance to the scoffers in Bohemond's party, and died in a few days of his burns.

Siege of Jerusalem, June-July 1099

Not till the beginning of June 1099, nearly a year after the battle of Antioch, did the Crusaders reach Jerusalem, which had recently been taken from the Turks by the troops of the Fatimite Caliph of Cairo. A five weeks' siege followed. On July 8 the crusading army, preceded by the clergy, went in solemn procession round the city. A few days later, on July 15, Godfrey of

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Boulogne wheeled his wooden siege-tower close to the walls, and threw a bridge on to the ramparts, and, after a fierce struggle, Jerusalem was taken by assault. The Crusaders celebrated their victory by a terrible massacre of the Mohammedans, passing from the streets heaped with dead and the blood-stained courts of the Temple of Solomon to worship with tears of joyful thanksgiving at the Holy Sepulchre.

Godfrey of Boulogne elected King or "Duke" of Jerusalem, 1099-1100

The goal of the Crusade seemed now to have been reached. Jerusalem was once more in Christian hands, and the leaders of the expedition met to organize their conquest and to elect a king. The offer of the throne is said to have been made in vain to Raymond of Toulouse, who would not be called king in the Holy City, and to Robert of Normandy. Godfrey of Boulogne at length accepted it, though he, too, refused to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and styled himself merely "Duke" (*Dux*) or "Advocate" of the Holy Sepulchre. His brief reign was marked by the defeat of the Egyptian army at Ascalon and by the fortification of the port of Joppa. He died in 1100, and a fame which he had hardly deserved in life was accorded to him after his death. Legends soon began to gather about his name. He was numbered among the "Nine Worthies of Christendom," he was connected with the story of the Knight of the Swan, or Lohengrin, and in after days he and Tancred were taken by the great Italian poet Tasso as the heroes of his "Jerusalem Delivered."

Battle of Ascalon, August 1099

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which gradually grew up under Godfrey and his two immediate successors, comprised, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem proper, with its dependent fiefs of Jaffa [Joppa] and Ascalon,

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Kerak and Montreal, Galilee, and Sidon, the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa. A long narrow strip of territory, it communicated with the sea on the west, and the Genoese, Venetian and English ships rendered valuable help to the Latins in the early days of the kingdom, but on the east, the important towns of Aleppo, Hamah, Emesa and Damascus were in the hands of the Turks, and to the south there was constant danger from Egypt. Within, the new kingdom was governed on strictly feudal lines. Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli were fiefs of the Crown, while Baldwin at Edessa, Bohemond at Antioch, and Raymond of Toulouse at Tripoli were practically sovereign princes. The government of the kingdom is probably well enough represented by the thirteenth century compilation of customs called the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which professed to be the usages ordered by Godfrey of Boulogne to be maintained in his dominions. At the head of all was the King with his great officers—Seneschal, Marshal, Chamberlain, Chancellor, and the like. Justice was done by a High Court or Curia Regis; there were also special civil courts for burgesses, commercial and maritime courts, and a court for the native Syrians. There was an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, too, under the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. The chief defect in the system was a defect common to all feudal states, the lack of political unity, and the division of the sovereign power among many powerful nobles. It seems, indeed, wonderful that so small a kingdom, set in the midst of so many foes, could hold its own at all. That it was able to do so was probably largely owing to disunion among the Turks, but it was also due in no small measure to the religious enthusiasm and warlike efficiency of the two

Assizes of Jerusalem

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great Military Orders, the soldier-saints, the Knights Hospitallers, and the Knights Templars. The Hospitallers, or Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, originally founded in the eleventh century for the purpose of tending sick and poor pilgrims to the Holy Land, took on a military organization early in the twelfth century. The Templars were instituted in the twelfth century by Hugh de Payens, a Burgundian knight, to protect the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem. The Rule of the Order, which was probably in the main due to St Bernard, was definitely recognized by the Pope in 1128. The Knights of the Temple, who derived their name from their house near the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, took the threefold monastic vow of chastity, obedience and poverty. They were governed by a Master and provincial commanders or preceptors. The Order included knights, sergeants, or serving brothers, and priests. On its seal were engraved two knights riding on one horse, to symbolize the original poverty of the brethren. The habit of the Templars was white, with a red cross on the mantle. "Lambs in the house, but lions in war," they bore before them in battle a banner called "Beauséant," half white and half black, "because they are fair and favourable to the friends of Christ, stern and black to His foes." The Hospitallers also lived by rule as soldier-monks, organized in provinces or *langues* under a Grand Master. Their Order, too, included knights, serving-brothers and chaplains, and they wore a black mantle with an eight-pointed white cross.

The Military Orders

Godfrey of Boulogne was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin of Edessa, who took the title of King, and did much to make it a reality. During his reign a fresh crusading host started from Europe under William, Duke of Aquitaine, and other distinguished leaders, only to

Baldwin I., 1100-1118

The Aquitanian Crusade, 1101-1102

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perish miserably in the passage across Asia Minor. Italian, Norwegian and English crusading fleets, however, gave active support to Baldwin by sea, and with their help he conquered Cæsarea, Acre and Sidon. He took Ramleh also, but his last years were clouded by disaster, and he died in 1118 before he could carry out a projected attack on Egypt. In the same year died Alexius Comnenus. Though in apparent fulfilment of his contract with the Franks he had led an army into Asia, he had followed the Crusaders, it has been said, much as the jackal follows the lion, picking up the spoil won by the nobler animal. In the end he recovered Nicæa and a large part of Asia Minor, yet he was unable to establish his claims to supremacy in the Holy Land, and the Eastern trade of Constantinople suffered considerably from the privileges accorded to Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles in the Syrian ports. He was succeeded by his son, John Comnenus, a brave and prudent prince, who reigned till 1143.

Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, 1118-1131

After the death of Baldwin I. his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, Count of Edessa, became King of Jerusalem. In spite of the one great misfortune of his capture and imprisonment by the Turks, his reign was prosperous, and the Latin kingdom had reached its greatest extension when he died in 1131. Baldwin II. had no son, but he married his daughter Melisend to Fulk V., Count of Anjou, the grandfather of Henry II. of England, a man of statesmanlike ability, piety and courage. Unfortunately for the future of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Fulk was killed accidentally in 1143, and his son Baldwin III., a boy of thirteen, was left to face the most serious crisis which the Syrian Franks had as yet experienced.

Fulk V. of Anjou, 1131-1143

Baldwin III., 1143

The fatalism, amounting to indifference, or even leading

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to alliance with the Christians, which had often characterized the Turks in the First Crusade, had gradually been replaced by a more patriotic attitude as the pressure of Frankish conquest made itself felt. "The Franks," wrote a Mohammedan historian, "raided the land daily; they wrought unspeakable harm to the Moslems." Yet the enthusiasm for the holy war, the *Jihad* of the Mohammedans, was reviving. Only a leader was needed to unite the jealous Turkish lordships in one strong hand. Then, in the words of an Arabic chronicler, "God resolved to raise up against the Christians a man fit to punish their crimes. . . . He saw none more meet for His designs than Imad-ed-din Zengy." Zengy, called Imad-ed-din, or "Pillar of the Faith," the son of a trusted counsellor of Malek Shah, was noted for courage and resolution, and had been promoted to be governor or "Atabek" of Mosul. After subduing his Mohammedan rivals and establishing his authority in Northern Syria, he succeeded in 1144 in taking Edessa in the absence of its indolent Count, Joscelin II., the unworthy son of Joscelin I., who was called by the Turks "a Satan among the infidels." Though Zengy himself did not live to see the full results of his victory, when in 1146 he was assassinated by his own slaves his biographer could declare that the Trinitarians were deprived of keep and fortress, and the worship of the One was restored in the regions of Syria.

Capture of Edessa by Zengy, 1144

The Second Crusade

The tidings of the fall of Edessa, the "conquest of conquests," were received with consternation in Western Europe, where St Bernard preached a new Crusade with such impassioned eloquence that at the Assembly of Vézelay, in the spring of 1146, he was forced to cut up his garments to supply his hearers with crosses. Both Louis VII. of France and the Emperor Conrad III.

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took the cross, and many French and German nobles followed their example. From the first, however, there were some who thought the expedition ill-advised, and even St Bernard's influence, and the miracles which were said to accompany his preaching, could not revive the popular fervour of the Crusade of 1095. The Germans under Conrad III. started in May 1147, and marched through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople. The Emperor John Comnenus had been succeeded in 1143 by his son, Manuel I., but though he and Conrad had married sisters, they distrusted one another, and there can be little doubt that the Byzantines behaved towards the Franks with much duplicity. Deserted by their Greek guides, distressed by lack of supplies, and harassed by the Turks, the German Crusaders, who had attempted to cross Asia Minor, made their way back to Nicæa, while Conrad returned to winter at Constantinople. The French pilgrims chose the coast road through Asia Minor, where, in a rocky pass near Laodicea, the Turks fell on them and inflicted terrible slaughter. The remnant reached the port of Attalia, whence the King and the more important crusaders sailed to Antioch, leaving the rest of the host to struggle on painfully by land, betrayed by the Greeks and suffering grievously from famine. In the spring of 1148 Conrad III. arrived at Acre by sea, and the King of Jerusalem joined with the French and German Crusaders in an attack on Damascus. "The siege," wrote the contemporary historian William of Tyre, "would have been successful, had it not been for the greed of the great princes, who entered into negotiations with the citizens." As it was, the attempt to take the city was abandoned, and the jealousy of the Syrian Frank nobles, who feared to see the fruit of their conquests snatched from them by

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the Crusaders, with the ambitions and rivalries of the western leaders, caused the whole expedition to end in disastrous failure. The Emperor Conrad and the King of France returned home, and St Bernard saw, with bitter sorrow, in the overthrow of all his hopes, the judgment of God for the sins of the people.

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CHAPTER XI

FREDERICK I. AND THE LOMBARD COMMUNES [1152-1190]

Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152-1190

THE death of Conrad III. marked the end of the "Age of St Bernard" and the beginning of a new era in the history of Western Christendom. The Empire once more became the political centre of Europe, and the Papacy fell into a subordinate position. The mantle of the great Pope Gregory VII. seemed to have descended upon the great Emperor, the "imperialist Hildebrand," Frederick I. Frederick was the son of Conrad III.'s elder brother, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, and of Judith, sister of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria. He thus reconciled the conflicting claims of Guelf and Ghibeline, and he had all the qualities of a leader of men, beauty of person, charm of manner, strength of will, and force of character. German songs and legends still fondly recall the ruddy, golden-haired, bright-eyed "Redbeard" (*Rothbart*, *Barbarossa*), the impersonation of all that is best in the Teutonic race.

Frederick was unanimously chosen King in an assembly of the princes which met at Frankfurt on March 4, 1152. "The essential principle of the law of the Roman Empire," wrote Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, the young king's uncle, "is that kings are appointed, not by right of blood, but by the election of the princes." Frederick was chosen not only on account of his energy and courage, but because he was of the blood of the two

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rival families, the "Henries" of Waiblingen and the Welfs of Altorf, and "like a cornerstone would unite their walls, and thus, by God's help, end their ancient feud." Frederick, indeed, began his reign by conciliating the Welfs. Saxony and Bavaria were again united in one hand when, in 1154, the princes adjudged the Bavarian duchy to Henry the Lion, while Count Welf, Henry's uncle, became Marquis of Tuscany. From Germany the new King turned to Italy. He had resumed the negotiations which Conrad III.'s death had interrupted, and had made a treaty with the Pope, but it was not till the end of 1154 that he was free to cross the Alps and claim the imperial crown. Meanwhile Eugenius III. had died peacefully at Rome, and after the short reign of his successor, Anastasius IV., the Englishman Nicholas Breakspear was raised to the papal throne as Adrian IV. A determined opponent of the pretensions of the Senate, a riot in which a cardinal was killed gave him an excuse for laying Rome under an interdict, and forcing the citizens to submit, and to banish Arnold of Brescia. Yet he was still surrounded by enemies, and he looked for deliverance to the German king. Frederick crossed the Brenner with a small force in October 1154, and encamped in the plain of Roncaglia to receive the homage of his Italian vassals and to hear the complaints of those aggrieved. From the first he showed that he would brook no defiance. The towns of Asti and Chieri, which refused redress for wrongs done, were burned; Milan, the oppressor of Lodi and Como, was put to the ban of the Empire; Tortona, her ally, was besieged, sacked and destroyed. After receiving the Lombard crown at Pavia, Frederick marched upon Rome. Adrian IV. came out to meet him, and very reluctantly the king

Frederick I.'s First Italian Expedition, 1154

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consented, in accordance with old custom, to lead the Pope's horse, and hold the stirrup for him to dismount. To the Roman citizens he showed himself less complaisant. When ambassadors from the "Senate and People of Rome" approached him, and demanded in the name of the "illustrious mistress of the world" that he would observe their ancient customs and laws and bestow on them a largesse of 5000 pounds, Frederick haughtily interrupted them. "Will you know," he is reported to have said, "where the ancient glory of your Rome, the grave dignity of your Senate, the tactics of your camp, the strength and discipline of your knighthood, your undaunted and invincible courage in battle, have gone? All these are with us Germans . . . with us are your consuls, your Senate, your soldiers. Charles and Otto wrested the city, with Italy, from Greek and Lombard, and brought it into the Frankish realm. I am the rightful possessor. Let him who can snatch the club from Hercules." Having thus thrown down the gauntlet to the Republic, Frederick entered Rome, and on June 18, 1155, the Pope crowned him Emperor in St Peter's. A fierce fight between the Romans and the Germans followed. "You might see," wrote Otto of Freisingen, "our men slaying the Romans, as if they were saying: 'Receive now, Rome, German steel for Arab gold. . . . Thus do the Franks buy the Empire.'" Though the Romans were repulsed, they held the city against the Emperor, refused to supply him with provisions, and compelled him to retreat. It was probably at this time that Arnold of Brescia, who had been taken prisoner and delivered up to Pope and Emperor, was put to death. His body was burned, and his ashes, it is said, were cast into the Tiber, lest the people should worship him as

Frederick I. crowned Emperor, June 18, 1155

Execution of Arnold of Brescia

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a martyr. When, in the summer of 1155, Frederick I. returned to Germany, he had made it clear that the Italian communes had nothing to hope from him. It could not, indeed, be otherwise with one who regarded himself as the heir of the Cæsars, and whose chief aim was to restore the Roman Empire to its ancient glory, Arnold of Brescia might dream of the austere freedom of the early Republic, but Frederick's visions were all of the splendid despotism of Imperial Rome.

German Policy of Frederick I.

To Germany the young Emperor came as a peace-maker, "Frederick the Pacific" (*Pacificus*).[1] Disorder and lawlessness were sternly repressed, and old feuds were healed. Bavaria was formally ceded to Henry the Lion, and the claims of Frederick's uncle, Henry Jasomirgott, were satisfied by the creation of the hereditary and privileged duchy of Austria from the old Bavarian East Mark (see p. 16) with the addition of certain counties. The Emperor's own position was strengthened by his marriage with Beatrix, the rich and beautiful heiress of the Count of Upper Burgundy.[2] The King of Denmark owned his overlordship, rebellious Poland was subdued, and the faithful Duke of Bohemia was rewarded with the royal title. By 1158 Frederick was ready to cross the Alps for the second time, to subdue, as he wrote, "the pride of the Milanese, which had lifted up its head against the Roman Empire." If his presence had given peace to Germany, his absence had led to a renewal of civil war in Italy. Tortona had been rebuilt, and Milan had resumed her struggle with Pavia, and her oppression of her weaker neighbours. The Pope, deserted by the

[1] There is a play here upon the name Friedrich, "rich in peace."

[2] The later Franche Comté, between the Saone and the Jura. Its capital was Besançon.

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Emperor, joined the Byzantine Greeks against the Sicilian Normans, but he was forced to come to terms with William the Bad, the son of the great Roger, and to invest him with Sicily, Apulia and Capua. With William's help he made peace with Rome, where hatred of the Empire was now stronger than distrust of the Papacy. The strained relations between Pope and Emperor came to an open breach in 1157, when at the Diet of Besançon a letter from Adrian IV. to Frederick was read, in which he wrote of the imperial crown as "conferred" by the Church, and alluded to the still greater "benefits" (*beneficia*) which he would willingly have bestowed on the Emperor. The word "*beneficium*" was legally used for a fief and the imperialists saw in the letter a claim on the part of the Pope to treat the German kings as their feudal vassals for the Italian kingdom and the Empire. They remembered the picture in the Lateran Palace of the Emperor Lothair II. receiving the imperial crown from Innocent II. (see p. 124) and a great uproar arose, which increased when Cardinal Roland, afterwards Pope Alexander III., exclaimed: "From whom, then, if not from the lord Pope, is the Empire held?" Frederick calmed the tumult by his personal authority, and proceeded to issue a manifesto, in which he declared that he held the kingdom and the Empire from God alone, "by the election of the princes," and that to say that he had received the imperial crown from the Pope as a "benefice" or fief was to speak falsely, and to oppose the divine decree and the teaching of St Peter. Adrian IV. afterwards tried to explain away the offensive words, but it was plain that the revival of the strife between Empire and Papacy was only a question of time.

Diet of Besançon, 1157

In the summer of 1158 Frederick marched into Italy

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Frederick I.'s Second Italian Expedition, 1158

with a great army. Pavia, Cremona, Bergamo, Como and Lodi rallied to the imperial standard, while Piacenza, Crema, Brescia and the islanders of the Lake of Como supported Milan. The Emperor assigned the fugitive men of Lodi a new site on which to rebuild their ruined town, and then advanced in force upon Milan. After a month's siege the haughty city yielded, and was granted easy terms, but Como and Lodi were freed from her yoke, and she had to admit the Emperor's supremacy, and to obtain his ratification of the appointment of her consuls.

First Siege and Surrender of Milan

Assembly of Roncaglia

A solemn assembly or Diet was then held on the Roncaglian plain, in which Frederick's imperial pretensions were clearly defined, and the Archbishop of Milan is said to have applied to him the maxims of the Civil Law of Rome that the law-making power had been entrusted to the Emperor by the people and that the prince's will had the force of law (*Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*). The four most famous doctors of the great Civil Law School at Bologna (see Chap. XVI.), with consuls from the cities, formed a committee to enquire into the imperial rights, and drew up a list of "regalia" or royal privileges, to which Frederick was entitled:—rights over highways and rivers and in ports and markets, tolls and fines, rights of coinage, fisheries, mines, and the right of "*fodrum*" or provision for the royal army. Many of these dues had lapsed, or had been appropriated by the nobles and cities, and the resumption of them by the Emperor was bitterly resented. Still more irksome to the cities was Frederick's scheme of superseding the authority of the municipal consuls by the appointment of a representative of the imperial power called podestà (*potestas; power*). These magistrates were generally strangers to the town in which they ruled, and

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were supposed to be superior to local feuds and jealousies, and to wield impartial justice. The idea of setting up a sort of dictator as arbiter among the jarring city factions does not seem to have been new, but the imperial podestà was hated as the minister of an alien and despotic power. The Lombard cities began at once to rebel against the new order and to feel the weight of the Emperor's displeasure. Crema was destroyed after a terrible siege, and Milan was once more put to the ban of the Empire. For three years, from April 1159 to March 1162, the city held out against the imperial forces, then, overpowered by superior numbers and worn by famine, it surrendered unconditionally. The Emperor was at New Lodi, and thither came the consuls, the chief citizens and the people of Milan, bringing with them the keys of their city, their banners, and, most precious of all, their *carroccio* or "standard," the rallying-point of their armies, the sacred car with a mast in the centre bearing a crucifix and the flag of St Ambrose. When the city trumpeters, standing on this car, sounded a blast for the last time, it seemed, wrote an eye-witness, as if the dirge of Milan's pride were being sung. When the mast of the *carroccio* was lowered before the Emperor, while the citizens prostrated themselves and begged for mercy, the bystanders were moved to tears. Only the Emperor remained cold, and "set his face as a flint." The lives of the citizens were spared, but they were no longer to live in Milan, their chief men were kept as hostages, and the stately city was given up to the vengeance of Lodi, Como, Cremona and its other enemies, to be wrecked and despoiled. "God," said the Archbishop of Salzburg, as he stood among the ruins, "has done unto this city as she did unto others."

Second Siege of Milan, 1159-1162

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The Emperor's insistence on his rights made him enemies, not only in Lombardy, but in Tuscany, where the old question of the title to the Matildine inheritance was revived. At Rome Pope Adrian IV. formed a league against Frederick with William of Sicily, and was negotiating with the Lombard cities when, in 1159, he died suddenly. The only Englishman who ever occupied the chair of St Peter, Nicholas Breakspear had risen from poverty to his great position, yet he often sighed for his early obscurity and thought the hardships of his past life slight in comparison with those which he had to endure upon the papal throne.

Papal Schism

His death was the signal for a schism in the Papacy: Party spirit ran high among the cardinals, and while the anti-imperialists elected Cardinal Roland as Alexander III., the imperialists on the same day chose Cardinal Octavian, who took the title of Victor IV. The Emperor supported Victor, and his election was ratified in a Council at Pavia, where his rival was excommunicated. The King of Sicily and the rebel Lombard cities, however, declared for Alexander III., and he, in turn, excommunicated the Emperor. Although, unable to resist the power of Frederick, he was forced, early in 1162, to take refuge in France, he succeeded in winning over to his side both the French king, Louis VII., and Henry II. of England, while by degrees the feeling in Italy changed towards him, and in 1165 he was able to return to Rome.

The second act in the great tragedy of the strife between Empire and Papacy opened with the schism of 1159. The eleventh century had seen the struggle of the Papacy for spiritual independence, the thirteenth century was to see a struggle for temporal supremacy: the twelfth century saw the Pope allied with the com-

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munes of Italy, the schismatic Emperor of the East and the orthodox kings of Western Europe against the absolutism of the "German Cæsar." In the eleventh century the conflict between Pope and Emperor was a sort of duel, in which the other powers took part merely as onlookers; in the twelfth century, it was more of the nature of a battle, in which the other powers acted as auxiliaries. To understand the complicated history of the latter half of the twelfth century, the growth of national consciousness in Western Europe and the development of international relations must always be remembered, with the close connexion between Eastern and Western Christendom. Louis VII. of France, Henry II. of England and Thomas Becket, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I., and the kings of Sicily, William the Bad and William the Good, all gather about the shrewd and politic Pope, Alexander III., who reigned from 1159 to 1181, outlived four anti-popes, and saw the triumph of his cause in the Peace of Venice in 1177, and the end of the schism in 1180.

Frederick I.'s Third Italian Expedition, 1163

The Emperor paid a peaceful visit to Italy in 1163, yet he did nothing to appease the increasing discontent of the Lombard communes. Alexander III., also, was unceasing in his efforts to build up a great coalition against the imperial power, and by 1166 armed intervention had become necessary. The Pope, the Roman republic, the King of Sicily, the young William II., who succeeded his father early in 1166, the Emperor Manuel, and the republic of Venice were all hostile to Frederick: the anti-pope Victor was dead and his successor had little influence: above all, the precursor of the famous Lombard League was seen in the union of Venice with

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Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Treviso to resist the Emperor's oppression. The cities had realized that their strength lay in co-operation. Frederick entered Italy towards the close of the year 1166. "As if despising the complaints of the Lombards," wrote a contemporary, he did nothing to redress their grievances, but marched upon Rome. The city was taken after a fierce siege, and on August 1, 1167, Frederick and his wife Beatrix were crowned in St Peter's by the anti-pope Paschal III. Alexander III., disguised as a pilgrim, fled to the Sicilian Normans, and the Emperor made terms with the Senate. His triumph, complete as it seemed, was destined to be short-lived. A terrible pestilence broke out in Rome, and almost destroyed the imperial army. The flower of the German nobles perished, among them Frederick's trusted adviser Rainald Archbishop of Cologne, and his young cousin Frederick of Swabia, the son of Conrad III. On August 6th the Emperor broke up his camp, and with difficulty led the enfeebled remnants of his great host to Pavia. "Never since the world began," wrote Thomas of Canterbury to Alexander III., "have the power and justice of God been more clearly manifested than in the destruction by so shameful a death of the authors of this great persecution."

Frederick I.'s Fourth Italian Expedition, 1166

Siege and Capture of Rome

Coronation of Frederick and Beatrix, 1167

Behind the Emperor, during his absence from Lombardy, the communes, oppressed beyond measure by the imperial officials, were beginning to organize their resistance. Early in 1167 the four towns of Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo and Mantua, thinking it "better to die than to live in such shame and ignominy," formed a league, and bound themselves to help each other against unreasonable exactions on the part of the Emperor or his representatives,

The Lombard League

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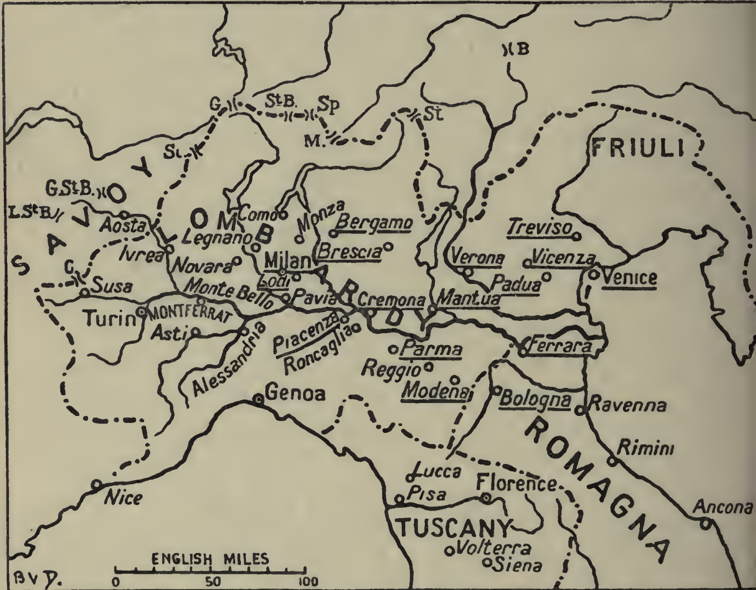
and to restore the exiled Milanese to their homes. Milan was rebuilt in the spring of 1167 and the League spread rapidly: even Lodi was forced to join it, and though Frederick put the cities to the ban of the Empire, he was

NORTH & CENTRAL ITALY XII CENTURY



Cities of Lombard League 1167 = Lodi

G.StB. Gt St Bernhard	C. Mt Cenis	StB. St Bernhardin	M. Maloja	G. St Gotthard
L.StB. Litt. St Bernhard	Si. Simplon	Sp. Splügen	St. Stelvio	B. Brenner

powerless to check the movement. In December 1167 the Veronese League and the Lombard League, sixteen cities in all, united in the "Lombard Society" (*Societas Lombardiæ*), renewed their oaths and vowed to resist all exactions to which they had not been subject between the reign of Henry V. and the accession of Frederick I. In March 1168 the Emperor, with a scanty following, retreated

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over the Mont Cenis, and returned to Germany almost like a fugitive, with disappointed hopes and diminished reputation. Nearly seven years passed before he saw Italy again, years in which the Lombard League grew rapidly in strength and popularity. A town called Alessandria in honour of Pope Alexander was built at a point of great strategical importance at the junction of the rivers Tanaro and Bormida, commanding the northern road from Genoa to Milan, and the road to Turin and the Mont Cenis, in a marshy district between the territories of the two most formidable imperial powers, Pavia, and the Marquis of Montferrat. By 1174, when the Emperor could once more turn his attention to Italian affairs, both Pavia and Montferrat had deserted his cause, and the League numbered thirty-six towns and all the feudal lords of the Po valley. It was governed by rectors, chosen to represent the various cities, had a common army, and was pledged to common action in resisting oppression.

Frederick I.'s Fifth Italian Expedition, 1174

In October the Emperor, finding the northern and eastern passes blocked by the confederates, entered Italy by the Mont Cenis route, which was held by his ally the Count of Savoy. He burnt Susa and advanced through Turin and Asti upon Alessandria. The imperialists laughed at the feeble defences and thatched roofs of the new town, and called it "the city of straw," yet the brave inhabitants held out all through the winter, and when, in the spring of 1175, the army of the League marched to its relief, Frederick was compelled to raise the siege. "The city of straw had shown itself a city of iron." The Lombards hesitated to attack the imperial army, and a truce, the "Peace of Montebello," was concluded in hopes of arriving at a peaceful settlement. Neither side, how-

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ever, would yield enough to make agreement possible, and hostilities were resumed. Though reinforcements came to Frederick from Germany, his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion, refused his help, unmoved by a personal appeal from the Emperor. But Pavia, the Marquis of Montferrat and Como had returned to their allegiance. Genoa and Pisa supported Frederick, and his lieutenant, Christian Archbishop of Mainz, had won over a great part of Central Italy and was holding the Sicilian Normans in check. The fate of the League hung in the balance when the Emperor marched south from Como to effect a junction with the forces of Pavia and Montferrat. The Milanese determined to prevent this combination at all costs, and, with their allies, prepared to intercept the imperial army. Three hundred noble Milanese youths vowed to defend the *carroccio* with their lives, and a band of nine hundred formed the "Company of Death," sworn to conquer or to die. On May 29, 1176, the great battle of Legnano was fought on the plain between the rivers Olona and Ticino, to the north-west of Milan. The Lombards broke under the charge of the German cavalry, and the *carroccio* itself was in danger, when the "Company of Death" rushed forward and retrieved the fortunes of the day. The imperial standard-bearer fell before their impetuous onslaught, the waverers rallied, and the imperial army was thrown into disorder and completely routed. The Emperor escaped to Pavia, though for several days it was thought that he had been killed, and his wife put on mourning for him.

Battle of Legnano, May 29, 1176

With his usual wisdom, Frederick now bowed to necessity, and recognized the impossibility of crushing the Lombard cities. He reconciled himself with Alexander III. and was released from excommunication, and

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in a solemn Congress at Venice he concluded a six years' truce with the League and a fifteen years' truce with the King of Sicily. On August 1, 1177, just a hundred years after the scene at Canossa, Pope and Emperor met at Venice, before the splendid Cathedral of St Mark. Frederick, in the words of a contemporary historian, "touched by the Spirit of God, laid aside his imperial dignity, and prostrated himself at the feet of the Pope." Alexander, with tears in his eyes, raised the Emperor from the ground, gave him the kiss of peace and led him into the cathedral, to the sound of the *Te Deum* and the pealing of bells. The story that the Pope set his foot on Frederick's neck, with the words, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet," is of later growth. The Pope's own letters show that he had no thought of triumphing over the Emperor, or of endangering his hard-won victory by pride and arrogance. He returned to Rome, where the anti-pope submitted to him, and his feeble successor, a nominee of the nobles, was banished to a monastery. When Alexander III. died in 1181, the schism was at an end, and he was recognized as Pope by the whole of Western Christendom.

Peace of Venice, 1177

The conclusion of the Peace of Constance between the Emperor and the League in 1183, after the expiration of the six years' truce, set the seal upon the proceedings at Venice in 1177. Frederick gave up to the cities all the "regalia" or royal rights which they then enjoyed, or had enjoyed in the past. These included rights of peace and war, of erecting fortifications and of exercising criminal and civil jurisdiction. The cities were to elect their consuls, who were then to be invested by the Emperor, and this investiture was to be repeated every

Peace of Constance, 1183

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five years. All citizens between the ages of fifteen and seventy were to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor and all imperial vassals were to do him homage. Judicial appeals were, in the more important cases, to go to the local representative of the Emperor. The cities were to help the Emperor to maintain his rights against all who were not members of the League; when he came into Lombardy they were to render the customary *fodrum*, to keep the roads and bridges in repair, and to provide him with a market. The Emperor, on his side, was not to make an unnecessary stay in any town or diocese. The right of the cities to fortify themselves was specially recognized and their right to maintain the League and to renew it, but they were to take an oath of fealty to the Emperor every ten years. These terms were granted to seventeen cities. Venice was independent, and eight cities were already the Emperor's allies. Among them was Alessandria, which had made a separate peace earlier in the year, and had tried, without much success, to change its name to "Cæsarea," as a compliment to the Emperor. The Peace of Constance represented a compromise in which, on the whole, the cities were the gainers. The Emperor was still their overlord and sovereign, to whom they owed allegiance, obedience and tribute, yet they had won important local privileges and legal recognition of their position as an order of free self-governing communities, a factor which would have henceforward to be reckoned with in all political calculations.

When Frederick Barbarossa returned to Germany in 1178, after the Peace of Venice, he found that local feuds had revived and private wars had been resumed as soon as his strong hand was withdrawn. The long absences

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of the Emperor in Italy, and his preoccupation with the affairs of the south, had left Henry the Lion free to build up an almost royal power in the north, which had provoked the jealousy of the Saxon nobles. The descendant of the Billungs and of Lothair II. (see Table II.), Henry seemed foreordained to carry on the policy of the Saxon Emperors, to extend the German frontier to the east, and to subdue and civilize the Slavs. He had taken an active share in the Emperor's early Italian expeditions in 1154 and 1159, but from 1161 onwards he devoted himself to the administration of his duchies and the establishment of his authority in Bavaria and Saxony. In the north he utterly broke the power of the Slav princes. They learnt, said a contemporary, that "the 'lion' is strongest among beasts and turneth not away from any."[1] He colonized and Christianized the lands which he conquered. Germans and Flemings settled among the Slavs, and new bishoprics were founded in the north-eastern provinces. He made an alliance with the King of Denmark against the Slav pirates of the Baltic Sea, encouraged naval enterprise and commerce, wrested the port of Lübeck from Count Adolf of Holstein, gave it great privileges, and opened up the Baltic trade. In Bavaria he pursued a similar policy of eastward expansion and commercial development, and Munich owes its foundation to him. "He was the prince of the princes of the land," wrote a German chronicler; "he bowed the necks of the rebels, and broke their castles and made peace in the land; he built strong fortresses and gathered together a monstrous fortune." It was this "monstrous fortune," with the avarice and pride of Henry, and his vast territorial power, which made his

Growth of the power of Henry the Lion

[1] Proverbs xxx. 30.

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rule intolerable to the Saxon nobles. As early as 1166, led by Albert the Bear, they conspired against him, and not till 1168, when the Emperor himself intervened, was peace restored. In this same year Henry was married to the daughter of Henry II. of England, and when in 1170 death relieved him of his hereditary adversary, Albert the Bear, he, rather than Frederick Barbarossa, seemed to be the king of Northern Germany. The Slav lands from Elbe to Baltic, as far as Schwerin and Mecklenburg, were a Saxon colony, studded with towns, castles and churches. The wild Slav tribes obeyed the great duke as a horse obeys his rider. In 1172 he was even able to leave Saxony and to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Six years later all was changed. The Emperor was assailed, on his return from Italy, with complaints of the oppression and tyranny of the "Lion of the North." Though there is no evidence to show that Frederick bore malice for Henry's refusal to follow him to the south, he no longer took his side against his enemies. Summoned to answer before the Diet, Henry three times failed to appear. He was put to the ban of the Empire, declared guilty of high treason, and sentenced to forfeit his duchies. He held out until 1181, when, after the capture of Lübeck, he made humble submission to the Emperor, and was exiled for three years. The Saxon duchy was divided, and relapsed into feudal anarchy. In 1185 Henry, who had found a refuge with his father-in-law, the King of England, returned to Germany, only to be exiled again in 1188, and from 1189 to 1190 to engage in a hopeless struggle to recover his lost duchy. In 1190 he was reconciled to the new king, Henry VI., and five years later he died at Brunswick, where a bronze lion,

Fall of Henry the Lion

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set up during his lifetime, still commemorates his fame.

The years of Henry the Lion's deepest humiliation

were the period of Frederick Barbarossa's greatest power. In 1184 he went to Italy for the sixth time, and on January 27, 1186, the city of Milan, once the victim of the Emperor's stern justice, saw the marriage of Frederick's eldest son Henry to Constance, the heiress

Frederick I.'s Sixth Italian Expedition, 1184

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of the Sicilian throne, and his coronation as "Cæsar," or joint-Emperor with his father. With the Pope, Lucius III., and, after his death in 1185, with his successor Urban III., Frederick's relations were unfriendly. They quarrelled over the Matildine lands and over the coronation of the young king Henry, but the Popes were weak and Frederick had the Romans on his side. The States of the Church were ravaged by the Germans, and the excommunication of the Emperor was only prevented by the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks (see Chap. XIV.), which reached Europe in the autumn of 1187. All else was forgotten in the desire to recover the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick, who, forty years earlier, had followed Conrad III. in the Second Crusade, took the cross in 1188 and started for Syria in 1189, at the head of a great host. On June 10, 1190 he was drowned in the river Saleph in Asia Minor, at a spot where, it was said in after days, a rock bore the prophetic inscription:—"Here shall perish the greatest of men" (*Hic Hominum Maximus Peribit*). He died for what, to a Christian knight of the twelfth century, was the noblest of causes, and it was no unworthy end for one who, with all his practical ability, had never, throughout a long life, lost sight of his youthful ideals. The legend that "the old Barbarossa" was not dead, but sleeping an enchanted sleep till the time should come for him to restore Germany to her former glory, was first told of Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II. (see p. 226), and was only transferred to Frederick I. in the sixteenth century, and made popular by a nineteenth-century ballad.[1] Yet the "Redbeard" has lived in the memory of the German people as the type of a good king and a great Emperor.

The Third Crusade, 1189

Death of Frederick I., June 10, 1190

[1] By Rückert: "Barbarossa," written in 1813.

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A warrior who loved war as a means to peace, prompt in action, wise in counsel, devout, charitable, business-like, a mighty hunter, a builder of churches and palaces, a student of history and of the brave deeds of his ancestors, simple in his tastes and strenuous in his habits, his biographer records as his most marked characteristic that "throughout his reign nothing was dearer to him than the restoration of the Roman Empire to its ancient power" (see p. 155). He looked on himself as in a very real sense the heir of Charles the Great, who was canonized at his request in 1164 by the anti-pope Paschal III. His decrees were inserted in the Roman Civil Law, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*; in his reign the phrase "Holy Roman Empire" (*Sacrum Imperium*) was first officially used. Yet this period of revival of imperial claims was also a time of prosperity for the German kingdom. Peace was enforced by imperial ordinances (*Landfrieden*), agriculture and commerce developed, and towns grew in wealth and importance. National pride and patriotism found expression in popular vernacular literature, in the splendid epic of the *Nibelungenlied*, instinct with "the whole spirit of chivalry, of love, and of heroic valour," in the lyrics of the *Minnesinger*, or love-poets, and in the songs of the wandering minstrels, or *jongleurs*, while side by side with the Latin histories of Otto of Freisingen and his continuators appeared a rhymed chronicle in the German tongue, the famous *Kaiserchronik.*

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CHAPTER XII

HENRY VI. AND INNOCENT III.

[1190-1216]

Henry VI., 1190-1197

THE fame of Henry VI., the successor of Frederick I., rests as much on what he dreamed of doing as on what, in his short reign of seven years, he actually accomplished. Small and fragile in body, he was quick and keen in mind, resolute of will and definite of purpose. Brave and accomplished, he had inherited much of his father's ability. He dabbled in poetry, seriously studied Latin, history, and law, and showed himself a good general and a shrewd politician. Too self-contained and calculating to be generally popular, the violence, treachery, and cruelty with which he carried out his schemes, made him many enemies, yet he was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the mediæval Emperors, a statesman of constructive genius, an idealist gifted with practical ability.

Henry had been early trained for the responsibilities of Empire. Crowned king of Germany in his childhood, he had been associated with his father as "Cæsar" in 1186, on his marriage with Constance of Sicily (see p. 169), and had been appointed regent when Frederick Barbarossa went on crusade. When news of the tragic death of the Emperor was brought to Germany, the young king had just concluded a treaty with the ever-restless Henry the Lion (see p. 168), and was preparing for an expedition to

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southern Italy, where his presence was urgently needed. In November 1189 William the Good, King of Sicily, had died childless, and the kingdom had fallen to his aunt Constance, the daughter of Roger I., and to her husband, Henry VI. The national party in Sicily, led by the Chancellor Matthew, dreading the German yoke, thereupon revolted, and raised Tancred, Count of Lecce, an illegitimate grandson of Roger I., to the throne (see Table IV.). Tancred's cause was further strengthened by his alliance with Richard I. of England (see p. 206) and by the support of the Pope, Clement III., the fourth of the five undistinguished successors of Alexander III. In the winter of 1190 Henry VI. entered Italy with a great host. Clement III. died in the following March, and the new Pope, the aged Cardinal Hyacinth, deferred his consecration in order to avoid bestowing the imperial crown on the German king. Henry, however, bought over the Romans by basely surrendering to their vengeance the rival town of Tusculum, which had trusted to his protection. Pressure was brought to bear on the Pope: on April 14 he was consecrated as Celestine III., and on April 15 he crowned Henry and Constance in St Peters. The Emperor now advanced into Apulia and besieged Naples, with the help of the Pisan fleet. But the valour of the Sicilian admiral Margarito, who drove away the Pisans and broke the blockade, with the fierce heat of the southern summer, which bred pestilence in the besieging army, forced Henry to retreat. He returned to Germany, where, in his absence, disaffection had appeared among the nobles of the north and west. Henry of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, was conspiring with Tancred of Sicily, and the deposition of the Emperor was even proposed.

First Italian Expedition of Henry VI., 1190

Coronation of Henry VI. and Constance at Rome

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Capture of Richard Cœur de Lion

At this critical moment, a sudden turn of fortune changed the whole situation. Richard of England was taken prisoner on his return from the Crusade by Leopold of Austria, whom he had offended in the Holy Land, and the duke delivered him up to Henry VI. After nearly two years' captivity, he consented to do homage to Henry, and to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the Empire. The marriage of Henry of Brunswick to the Emperor's cousin dissolved the confederacy of rebel German nobles. Finally, a premature death carried off Tancred's eldest son Roger, joint-king of Sicily, and he was quickly followed to the grave by Tancred himself. Although the Sicilian crown was placed on the head of the child William III., Tancred's younger son, the rebellion of the South was practically at an end. When, in May 1194, Henry VI. returned to his southern kingdom, he found its reduction an easy task, and on Christmas Day he was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo. A conspiracy amongst the nobles gave an excuse for exiling the young King William and his mother and sisters. Sicily lay at the feet of its conqueror. This was the supreme hour of Henry's triumph. A son, the future Frederick II., had been born to him on the day after the coronation at Palermo. He was lord over all Italy. Rome, where a single Senator now represented the commune, was his ally; the fleets of Pisa and Genoa were at his service; he had taken advantage of the renewed feuds and rivalries among the Lombard cities to organize an imperial party in the north; his brother Philip ruled the Matildine lands as Duke of Tuscany; Ravenna, the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto were in his hands; Germany was submissive; the King of England was his vassal. In the East, the King of Armenia offered him

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homage, and the Moorish princes of Northern Africa sent him tribute. It was no wonder that daring schemes now took shape in his mind, and that he dreamed of making the Empire hereditary in his house, and uniting for ever the German and Sicilian kingdoms, of ruling Europe from Italy, and of extending his sovereignty over the Byzantine Empire and the far East. A Greek historian, the Emperor's bitter opponent, has recorded how, pale and careworn, he neglected ease and pleasure, and laboured, like a second Alexander, to make himself lord of all the kingdoms of the world. It seemed as if the visions of Otto III. were about to be realized nearly two hundred years after his death.

Henry began by preparing to invade the East under pretext of a Crusade, a project which won him the approval of the Pope. He next tried to persuade the German princes to consent that the succession to the Empire should be hereditary, "as in France and other kingdoms," and that the Sicilian kingdom should be permanently united with the Empire. He offered the princes in return full rights of hereditary succession in their own fiefs, and the remission of certain dues. But this "new and unheard-of decree" met with so much opposition that it had to be abandoned, though the princes elected the baby prince Frederick as king at Frankfurt in 1196. Soon after the election the Emperor went down into Italy for the last time, "bent on obtaining Greece and the Empire of Constantinople." The oppression of the German officials in Sicily had roused the people against their new rulers, and even the Empress Constance was implicated in the revolt which now broke out. An anti-king was chosen, and a plot to murder the Emperor was set on foot. With ruthless severity Henry

Third Italian Expedition of Henry VI., 1196

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stamped out the rebellion, and sanctioned the infliction of hideous tortures on the unfortunate Sicilians. Meanwhile a great fleet and army had gathered in the south in readiness for the Crusade, and some of the ships had already sailed for the Holy Land. The King of Cyprus had become Henry's vassal, the Eastern Emperor Alexius III. had bought off his claims with tribute (see p. 209), and his brother Philip of Swabia had married the Byzantine princess Irene, the widow of the young Roger of Sicily. The Emperor was at the height of his glory, "potent by land and sea," when he was suddenly cut off by malarial fever. He died at Messina on September 28, 1197, at the early age of thirty-two, and all his great hopes and lofty ideals were buried with him in his stately tomb at Palermo. "If he had not been prevented by death," wrote a chronicler, echoing, with more reason, the lament of Otto of Freisingen over Lothair II. (see p. 125), "he would have exalted the German people far above other nations, and by his energy and courage the splendour of the Empire would have been restored to its ancient dignity."

Death of Henry VI., Sept. 28, 1197

Some three months after the death of Henry VI., on January 8, 1198, the decrepit Celestine III. passed away at Rome, and on the same day the Cardinals unanimously elected in his place the youngest of their number, Lothair of Segni, who, as Innocent III., was destined to be remembered as one of the most powerful of mediæval Popes. The whole course of history was changed when the active and vigorous Emperor was replaced by a helpless little child, and the feeble old Pope by a young and ardent enthusiast, who was also a man of genius. The wheel of fortune had turned once more, and had brought the Papacy to the top. Innocent III. was the true heir of Henry VI., the

Election of Innocent III., Jan. 8, 1198

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ITALY under INNOCENT III

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heir of his wide ambitions and world-embracing schemes. The son of a noble Italian family and the nephew of Pope Clement III., Lothair of Segni had from his childhood every advantage which wealth and social position could give. He studied in Rome, in Paris and in Bologna, steeped himself in the learning of his time, and, if his biographer may be believed, "surpassed all his contemporaries by his successes in philosophy, theology, and law." Made a Cardinal by his uncle before he was thirty, and consecrated Pope before he was forty, it was clear from the first that his conception of his holy office was no whit less exalted than that of the boldest of his predecessors. He, "the servant of the servants of God," claimed also to be the Vicar of Christ, the successor of St Peter, to whom the keys of heaven had been committed, whose seat was above the seat of kings, who stood between God and man, "less than God, but more than man." "God," he wrote in a famous letter, "has set two great lights in the firmament, the sun to rule the day, the moon to rule the night. So, in the firmament of the universal Church, He has instituted two high dignities: the Papacy, which reigns over the souls of men; and Monarchy, which reigns over their bodies. But the first is far above the second. As the moon receives light from the sun . . . so does the royal power derive all its glory and dignity from the papal power." Innocent's own letters and the writings of his contemporaries show him as a man of untiring energy, thorough and conscientious in all the details of life, business-like, decided, inflexible when once his mind was made up, scrupulously honourable in an age of corruption, and with all this an idealist, as ardent in the cause of the Church as Gregory VII., but with wider opportunities

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and a more intimate knowledge of the world than his great eleventh-century forerunner. An early fresco and a fragment of mosaic have been preserved which represent the famous Pope with a smooth oval face, straight features, a small mouth, and large thoughtful eyes under arched brows. He was, as is known from other sources, small in stature, but he had a sonorous and penetrating voice, and was eloquent, and ready of speech. In the general confusion which followed the untimely death of the great Emperor, the figure of the great Pope stands out as a landmark: his high and definite aims, pursued with the insight of a statesman and the precision of a trained lawyer, give a clue to the labyrinth of European politics. Like Henry VI., Innocent III. wished to rule Christendom from Italy as a centre, but whereas Henry had sought to achieve his end by Germanizing Italy, Innocent sought rather to Romanize Europe, and to rouse the Italians to a sense of national unity. Italy, he wrote, was the seat of the "two powers," the Papacy and the Empire, "by divine dispensation the head of the world," and Rome was the apostolic and imperial city. He began, then, by making his power a reality in Rome itself. The imperial prefect became a papal official, and the Pope obtained control over the appointment of the Senator, the civic representative. He won over the people by lavish charity, and the turbulent nobles, after a fierce resistance, were forced to recognize his supremacy. From Rome Innocent turned to the States of the Church and the Matildine lands. Philip of Swabia had returned to Germany, and in his absence the Tuscan cities formed an anti-imperial league, while the great German feudatories, the seneschal Markwald, Marquis of Ancona and Duke of Ravenna, and Conrad Duke of Spoleto, were com-

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pelled to abandon their fiefs and to leave central Italy. By the end of 1198 the Patrimony of St Peter with Ancona and Spoleto had been recovered for the Papacy. In southern Italy, where the little Frederick had been crowned at Palermo after his father's death, the Empress Constance sought safety and protection for herself and her child by consenting to hold the kingdom of Sicily as a fief of the Holy See and by renouncing the exceptional ecclesiastical privileges which the Norman kings of Sicily had enjoyed. In November 1198 she died, leaving the infant king to the guardianship of the Pope. For ten years Innocent III. struggled on behalf of his ward against the ambition of German nobles and the intrigues of the Sicilian chancellor, Walter Bishop of Troja. Sicily and Apulia were devastated by a civil war in which French and German adventurers, Saracen mercenaries, and the sea powers of Pisa, Genoa and Venice all played a part. When the Germans found a leader in Markwald of Ancona, the Pope called French troops to his help under Walter of Brienne, a son-in-law of Tancred of Sicily. Markwald died in 1202 and Walter of Brienne was killed in 1205, but it was not till 1208, when the young king Frederick was growing to manhood, that comparative peace and order were restored to the southern kingdom. Meanwhile in Germany it seemed as if the Empire itself were about to fall to pieces. On the death of Henry VI. the Ghibelines put forward his brother Philip of Swabia as a candidate for the German kingship and the Empire, while the Guelfs, led by the Archbishop of Cologne, upheld the claims of Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. The times needed a strong man, and it was an irony of fate that the baby Frederick, for whose hereditary succession his father had taken such anxious

Death of Constance of Sicily, 1198

Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick

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thought, should be set aside even by his uncle. Philip was elected by the majority of the princes at Mühlhausen, but another assembly met at Cologne and chose Otto, who was crowned at Aachen. Philip was supported by the adherents of the Hohenstaufen in southern Germany, by the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria and by the King of France. On Otto's side were his uncles, Richard Cœur de Lion and John of England, the King of Denmark, the Count of Flanders, the city of Cologne, and a great part of north-west Germany, the old home of the Guelf party. Both Guelfs and Ghibelines negotiated with Innocent III., and in 1201 he declared for Otto, who confirmed the Papacy in the possession of the States of the Church, with Ancona, Spoleto, the Matildine lands and the overlordship of Sicily. In Germany, however, fortune favoured the Ghibelines. The Archbishop of Cologne changed sides, and in 1205 crowned the Duke of Swabia at Aachen. Otto's forces were defeated, Cologne was compelled to make terms, and even the Pope began to incline towards Philip, released him from excommunication, and endeavoured to mediate between the rival kings. The hopes of the Hohenstaufen party were at their height when, in the summer of 1208, they were suddenly blighted by the assassination of Philip of Swabia by a private enemy, Otto Count of Wittelsbach. There now seemed to be no further obstacle to the recognition of Otto. He was acknowledged as king at an assembly at Frankfurt in 1208, conciliated the Ghibelines by his marriage with the daughter of Philip of Swabia, and in 1209 was crowned Emperor at Rome by Innocent III. But the acceptance of the imperial crown inevitably implied the acceptance of the imperial tradition of antagonism to the haughty pretensions of the Papacy. Otto IV., the Guelf, followed

Assassination of Philip of Swabia, 1208

Imperial Coronation of Otto IV. at Rome, 1209

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in the footsteps of his Ghibeline predecessors. He revived the claims of Henry VI. He gave the marquisate of Ancona to his Italian partisan Azzo d'Este, and the duchy of Spoleto to his German vassal Diepold of Acerra. He occupied the Matildine lands, and invaded southern Italy in defiance of the papal excommunication. Almost all Apulia and Calabria had submitted, and the Emperor had hired Pisan ships to take his troops to Sicily, when he was recalled to Germany by the news that the opposition, led by the Archbishop of Mainz, had induced the princes to elect Frederick of Swabia as their king. The Pope approved the choice, and in 1212 the son of Henry VI. crossed the Alps for the first time, and after a formal election at Frankfurt was solemnly crowned at Mainz. In 1213, by the Golden Bull of Eger, Frederick renewed the territorial concessions which Otto had made to the Papacy, and promised obedience to Innocent III., his "protector and benefactor." Otto now threw himself on the support of Saxony and Cologne, and formed a sort of northern league with England and the princes of the Netherlands, while Frederick entered into alliance with France and the Papacy. In 1214 the battle of Bouvines shattered Otto's hopes (see p. 192). On July 25, 1215, Frederick was crowned at Aachen, and shortly afterwards Cologne fell into his hands. The Lateran Council of November 1215 saw the consummation of the power of Innocent III. Summoned for the reform of the Church and the recovery of the Holy Land, a great assembly of ecclesiastical and lay magnates, gathered from all parts of Christendom, met in Rome to discuss, under the presidency of the Pope, the religious and political questions which were agitating Europe. Thither came the patriarchs of Jerusalem and

Coronation of Frederick II. at Mainz, 1212

Coronation of Frederick II. at Aachen, 1215

Fourth Lateran Council, 1215

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Constantinople, representatives of the triumphs of Latin Christianity in the East, the fugitive Count of Toulouse and his son, victims of the rigour of Latin orthodoxy in the West; St Dominic, the herald of the new spirit of apostolic zeal within the Church, and ambassadors from all the kingdoms of Europe, from Cyprus and Palestine, and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, witnesses to the political influence of the Papacy. The Council passed a long series of canons against heresy, superstitious observances, and ecclesiastical ignorance and disorder, confirmed the excommunication and deposition of Otto IV. and the election of Frederick II., and proclaimed a Crusade for the year 1217. Before that date, Innocent III., who had hoped to give his blessing to the expedition, was no more. Struck down by fever, he died at Perugia in the summer of 1216. He was happy in the moment of his death. He saw the present success of his life-work and he was spared the knowledge of its future failure. He seemed when he died to have almost achieved his aim of making the Pope the sovereign of the world. The King of France had consented to take back his divorced wife, the Kings of Navarre and Aragon had owned themselves the Pope's vassals, the rulers of Hungary and of distant Armenia had sought his protection and intervention. In 1213 John Lackland did homage to him for the kingdom of England, and in 1215 he saw his ward Frederick of Sicily seated on the throne of Germany. The Fourth Crusade had effected the nominal union of the Eastern and Western Churches, the Albigensian heresy seemed about to be extirpated in southern France, and the new Crusade might recover the city of Jerusalem for the Christians. Time was to show that in this very completeness of realization of the papal ambitions lay elements

Death of Innocent III., 1216

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of danger. The national forces which Innocent had called to his aid in Italy and Sicily were active also elsewhere, and were destined to prove too strong for the World-State and the World-Church. Even in Italy the cities were restive under autocratic rule, while in England, if the king submitted, the people revolted against subjection to Rome. The temporal power of the Pope, established by the consolidation of the States of the Church, was in the end to work the downfall of the Papacy. The young Frederick of Hohenstaufen was to become the deadly foe of the power which had watched over his childhood and to which in early youth he had shown such loyal devotion. Yet, in spite of errors and misconceptions and faults of pride and ambition, Innocent III. was a great and noble Pope, "a man most learned and eloquent, high-hearted and of lofty counsel."

AUTHORITIES

As for Chapter IX.
MILMAN: Latin Christianity.

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CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE UNDER PHILIP AUGUSTUS, LOUIS VIII., AND ST LOUIS

[1180-1270]

Philip II., *Augustus*, 1180-1223

FRANCE won the first place among the nations of mediæval Europe in the ninety years between 1180 and 1270, the period of the reigns of Philip II., the "Wise," his son Louis VIII., and his grandson Louis IX., the "Saint."

Philip II., called "Augustus" by his contemporaries, who saw in his fame a revival of the glories of imperial Rome, really began to reign from the day of his coronation in 1179, though it was not till September 1180 that the death of his father, Louis VII., made him sole king in name as well as in fact. From the first he dreamt dreams of Empire, and set one goal before himself, the extension and consolidation of the French monarchy. In carrying out his ambitions he was confronted by three great feudal powers, the allied houses of Blois and Champagne, the Count of Flanders, and the King of England, Henry II., with his vast dominions on both sides of the Channel.

During the lifetime of Louis VII., the Counts of Champagne and of Blois, who were the brothers of Queen Adela, had aimed at governing the kingdom in their own interests, and at using the young king Philip as their tool. In self-defence Philip had allied himself with the Count of Flanders, whose niece, the heiress of the province of

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Artois, he married in June 1180. But after the old king's death a treaty was concluded between France and England, which gave offence to the French nobles. A coalition was formed against Philip II., led by the Counts of Flanders, Champagne and Blois, and the Duke of Burgundy, and for nearly five years, from 1181 to 1186, France was torn by civil war. No sooner had the king subdued the last of his rebellious vassals than fresh complications arose with his former friend and supporter, Henry II. of England. The extent and importance of the English possessions in France made permanent peace between the two kingdoms impossible, and there was no lack of pretexts for a quarrel. When the eldest son of Henry II., the "young king" Henry, died in 1183, the Norman Vexin, the dowry of his wife, Margaret of France (see p. 107), was retained by the King of England. The contract of marriage between Philip's half-sister Alice and Richard Count of Poitou, the second son of Henry II., had not been fulfilled, while the third son, Geoffrey Count of Britanny, was discontented, and ready to conspire against his father with the King of France. So close was the bond between the two young men, that after Geoffrey's sudden death in 1186, Philip was with difficulty restrained from throwing himself into his friend's grave. Yet he soon transferred his affection to Richard of Poitou, and intrigued with him against Henry II., until the news of the fall of Jerusalem and the preaching of the Crusade (see p. 205) silenced all private dissensions and fired princes and people alike with enthusiasm for the Holy War. Richard of Poitou took the cross, and the Kings of France and England followed his example. The feud between Philip and Henry II., however, was not so easily ended. Though the year 1188 opened with busy

The Third Crusade

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preparations for the Crusade, by the summer the truce had been broken, the expedition to the Holy Land had been postponed, and hostilities against the English had been resumed. Richard of Poitou, jealous of the favour shown by Henry II. to his youngest son, John "Lackland," now openly allied himself with the French king, and at last, in July 1189, Henry II., betrayed by his children and deserted by his vassals, was forced to submit, to meet Richard and Philip at Colombiers, between Azai and Tours, and to agree to the Treaty of Azai, by which he consented to do homage to the King of France for his continental fiefs, and to recognize Richard as heir to the English crown. Broken down by the shame of defeat and the shock of finding that even his favourite son John had been unfaithful to him, he died at Chinon on July 6, 1189, and was laid to rest in the abbey-church of Fontevrault, where his tomb may still be seen. The death of Henry II. made Richard of Poitou King of England. His first care after his coronation was to prepare for the long-delayed Crusade. He and Philip of France entered into a covenant of mutual friendship and loyalty, renewed their crusading vows, arranged for the government of their dominions in their absence, and, in the late summer of 1190, set sail for the Holy Land, Richard from Marseilles and Philip from Genoa. The history of the Third Crusade need not here be repeated. (See Chap. XIV.) After a winter spent in Sicily in futile disputes, the two kings reached Syria in time to take part in the siege of Acre. The city capitulated on July 12, 1191, and some three weeks later Philip II. abandoned the expedition on the plea of ill-health, and returned to France. Before he left the Holy Land he swore to do no harm to the lands and subjects of the English king in Europe. "How faithfully

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he kept his oath," wrote a contemporary, "the whole world knows."

A practical statesman and a man of business, Philip had indeed little sympathy with the chivalrous ideals and generous impulses of Richard of England. Regardless of his oath, on his arrival in France he began at once to plot with John, who was trying to secure the English crown in the absence of his brother. Fortune seemed to favour their schemes, for Richard was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria on his homeward journey, and was handed over by him to the Emperor Henry VI. Philip and John tried to bribe the Emperor to prolong Richard's captivity, and when in 1194 he was set at liberty after doing homage to Henry VI. for the kingdom of England, Philip is said to have written to John:—"Take heed to yourself, for the devil is loose."

The war with France which began on Richard's return, lasted, with brief periods of truce, till 1199. In the course of it Richard built his famous fortress on the Seine, Château-Gaillard, the "Saucy Castle," which covered the approaches to Rouen from France. Several of the great French feudatories sided with the English, Philip was defeated in Flanders and in Normandy, and Richard's cause was further strengthened when his nephew Otto IV. became the papal candidate for the imperial throne (see p. 181). At length, in 1199, a five years' truce was concluded by the intervention of the legate of Pope Innocent III. Shortly afterwards Richard was mortally wounded whilst besieging one of his rebellious vassals in the castle of Châlus in the Limousin. Minstrels and troubadours lamented the flower of chivalry, the gallant soldier and open-handed leader, himself a poet and the patron of poets, but the King of France must have

Death of Richard I. 1199

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breathed more freely when Richard "Cœur de Lion" was no longer his rival. The disputes concerning the succession to the English throne which arose on the death of Richard gave Philip II. an opportunity of which he was not slow to take advantage. Though John was crowned Duke of Normandy and King of England, the claims of his nephew Arthur of Britanny found many supporters, and John's own folly and wickedness went far to ruin his cause. He alienated the English nobles by divorcing his wife Hawisa of Gloucester, and the French nobles by carrying off the affianced bride of the son of the Count of la Marche. He refused to appear when summoned before the French king's court, and thus afforded Philip an excuse for declaring his fiefs forfeited, and invading Normandy. Finally, the mysterious disappearance of Arthur of Britanny, who had been taken prisoner by the English, gave rise to the rumour of his murder, and turned all hearts against the unnatural uncle who was said to have killed the young prince with his own hands. Philip II. marched into Normandy and took Château-Gaillard in 1204, after an eight months' siege. The surrender of Rouen and the conquest of the whole duchy followed. John's great Empire slipped away from him while with strange recklessness he spent his days in hunting and feasting and playing chess. Anjou, Touraine and Maine were easily won by Philip, and in the autumn of 1204 he crossed the Loire. John was roused to make an effort to save his southern provinces, but his French subjects were disloyal, the English nobles were sullen and unwilling to fight, and the greater part of Poitou was soon in the hands of the King of France. Well might the troubadours reproach the "shameless King John," who left Poitiers and Tours to Philip and allowed himself to

Conquest of Normandy and Anjou by Philip II., 1204

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be driven out of his fair inheritance. In 1206 Britanny owned the French over-lordship, and by 1208 Philip's conquests were secured by a treaty of peace.

Relations of Philip II. with Innocent III.

In the struggle with John "Lackland" Philip II. had shown energy, promptitude and tact. On the wider field of European politics he proved his ability and power in his dealings with that subtle master of statecraft Pope Innocent III. As early as 1193 Philip had incurred the censure of the Papacy by divorcing his second wife, Ingeborg, sister of the King of Denmark, and marrying Agnes of Meran, the beautiful daughter of a German noble. Ingeborg appealed to Rome, and when Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 he at once intervened on her behalf, and forced the king to a seeming reconciliation by laying France under an interdict. Yet it was not till 1213 that Ingeborg was restored to her full honours as queen, and after the death of Agnes of Meran the Pope consented to legitimate her children. Innocent III. was, doubtless, fully alive to the importance of keeping on good terms with the King of France, and winning him as an ally in his strife with the house of Hohenstaufen. Philip II. was throughout a consistent Ghibeline. He supported Philip of Swabia, and after his assassination put forward a candidate of his own, Henry of Brabant, in opposition to Otto of Brunswick. Then, when Otto quarrelled with the Pope, Philip II. and Innocent III. united in pushing the claims of the young King of Sicily, Frederick of Hohenstaufen. A further reason for the alliance between France and the Papacy was the breach between the King of England and Innocent III. which resulted from John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton, the papal nominee, as Archbishop of Canterbury. The great political forces of Europe now grouped themselves in new combinations.

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On the one side were the Pope, the French king and Frederick of Sicily, with the discontented English barons; on the other, King John, his nephew the excommunicated Emperor Otto IV., the untrustworthy Count of Boulogne, and Ferrand Count of Flanders, who had grievances against his over-lord Philip II., and derived important commercial advantages from his relations with the English. In 1212 England was laid under an interdict; in 1213 John was excommunicated by the Pope, his deposition was decreed, and the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the King of France. The expedition was looked on as a holy war. Like a second William the Conqueror Philip II. gathered his troops and ships and prepared to march under the papal banner against a rebellious son of the Church. It does credit to John's worldly wisdom that at this crisis of his fortunes he saved himself by completely submitting to the Pope, resigning his crown into the hands of the papal legate and receiving it back on condition of holding his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. Innocent III. did not hesitate to throw Philip over when he no longer needed him, though the French king "had great wrath in his heart against the Pope, who had closed the road to England to him." The army which had been intended for the English campaign was now turned against the Count of Flanders, but his allies, Otto IV., the Count of Boulogne, and the English king came to his help, with many of the feudal lords of Holland and Lorraine, while John invaded Poitou in the hope of recovering some of his lost territory. Caught between two armies, the position of the King of France was very serious. His son Louis, however, defeated the English in the south, and on July 27, 1214, Philip himself dealt a crushing blow at the allied forces in the famous

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Battle of Bouvines, July 27, 1214

battle of Bouvines near Tournai. The Counts of Flanders and Boulogne were taken prisoner, and Otto IV. fled from the field. Great was the enthusiasm among the subjects of Philip II. when the results of the battle were known. The victory of Bouvines meant, indeed, not only the ruin of the cause of Otto IV. in Germany and the final overthrow of the Angevin dynasty on the Continent, but the firm establishment of the Capetian monarchy, and the recognition of France as a united and powerful nation, a leader among European States.

In England, the defeat of the allies at Bouvines left John alone to face the armed opposition of his subjects, and he found himself obliged to yield to their demands and to grant the great Charter of Liberties. When Pope Innocent III. came to the aid of his new vassal, released him from his promises and annulled the Charter, the English barons offered the crown to Louis of France, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, who had married Blanche of Castile, a grand-daughter of Henry II. Louis led an expedition to England, but the sudden death of John in 1216 altered the whole situation. The French troops were defeated at Lincoln, the French fleet was scattered off Dover, and in September 1217 Louis signed the treaty of Lambeth and returned to France. If the Plantagents had to submit to be stripped of their French fiefs, at least they were spared the humiliation of seeing a Capetian on the English throne.

Expedition of Louis of France to England and death of John, 1216-1217

Internal Government of Philip II.

A thirteenth-century chronicler tells us that after the battle of Bouvines, Philip Augustus lived in great peace and no man durst make war upon him. During the remaining nine years of his reign he occupied himself with the internal affairs of his kingdom, and with the consolidation and organization of his dominions. He gave France the three

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essential instruments of good government, a strong army, a full treasury and a well-regulated administrative system, and he did much to weaken the great feudatories and to strengthen the monarchy by his encouragement of the official and commercial classes. His army was largely composed of hired soldiers and professional mercenaries, and though the feudal levy was still sometimes called out and the militia of the towns still often served in person, it was becoming more and more the custom to commute service, whether military or non-military, and payments in kind, for money payments. The crown was further enriched by the extension of the royal demesne, through marriage, through treaty, and through conquest, and Philip II. knew how to amass treasure by taxing clergy and laity alike, by selling privileges to towns, and protection to the Jews whom in the beginning of his reign he had banished from the country, and by transforming old feudal or servile obligations into profitable money rents and dues. In his relations with the feudal nobles Philip showed that he was determined to be master. He forced them to recognize the jurisdiction of the king's court of justice and to accept his legislative ordinances. By the sheer force of his wealth, influence, and dominant personality he bowed his vassals to his will. He protected and flattered the clergy, and yet did not scruple to wring money from them, and to limit the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. To the towns he was a great benefactor. He renewed and confirmed charters and created many communes, both in his own demesne and in the newly conquered provinces. He favoured trade, too, throughout the kingdom, and called burgesses to his feudal councils. He extended his protection to foreign merchants, and granted special privileges to the *hanse* or

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merchant corporation of Paris. In all these measures he had his own profit in view. The towns gave him military and financial support, and he found a valuable political ally in the commercial class. In the work of administration he relied even more than his predecessors on the middle class, as a check on the feudal magnates. All real power was entrusted to the king's intimate councillors, the officials of court and palace, the *curiales* and *palatini*, knights, clerks and lawyers, members of the *curia regis* or king's court, in the narrower sense. The *curia regis* in the wider sense, the great feudal council of nobles, lay and ecclesiastical, met less frequently than heretofore, and the representatives of the towns were more prominent in it. In the local government of the royal demesne Philip II. instituted a new officer, the *bailli*, who was placed over the existing officials, the *prévôts*, and was directly responsible to the crown. The *baillis*, like the itinerant justices in England, were the financial, judicial and administrative agents of the king. The whole system centred in Paris, which was fast becoming the capital of a great kingdom. Philip Augustus surrounded the city with a wall and built the castle and tower of the Louvre. The thirteenth-century fortress has given place to the stately palace of Francis I. and his successors, but the ground-plan of the older building may still be traced in one of the courts of the Louvre, as we know it to-day.

Death of Philip II., 1223

Philip II. died in 1223, and was buried in the abbey of St Denis. The French historians vie with one another in praising the great king, while the English chroniclers paint him as the perfidious rival of the gallant Cœur de Lion. From these contradictory accounts it is difficult to form a clear idea of Philip's character and personality,

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but an unbiassed contemporary has left us what is probably a true description of the handsome, stalwart prince, high-coloured and fond of good living, generous to his friends, stern to those who resisted him, strong-willed, shrewd and resolute, loving to use small men and to abase the proud, the defender of the Church and the protector of the poor. In truth Philip was neither a model of virtue nor a monster of iniquity, but an able and unscrupulous politician, a crafty diplomatist, a prudent and experienced soldier, a wise ruler and one of the founders of the French monarchy.

Louis VIII., 1223-1226

In person the new king, Louis VIII., a small, thin, delicate man, already past his first youth, was a striking contrast to the florid, vigorous Philip Augustus, yet he shared his father's ambitions and carried out his policy with energy and decision. The three years of the brief reign of Louis VIII. are chiefly noteworthy for the war with the English in Aquitaine, and for the crusade against the Albigensian heretics in southern France.

War with the English in Aquitaine

Louis took advantage of the youth of Henry III. and of the troubles in England to secure and extend his authority in Poitou, Saintonge, the Limousin and Périgord. Only Gascony, with the city of Bordeaux, remained to the English. By 1226, the last year of his life, the French king was able to turn his attention to the affairs of Languedoc. While Philip Augustus and his son were establishing the royal power on a firm basis in the North of France the submission of the South was prepared by the long agony of the Albigensian crusade. The free spirit of the men of Languedoc was broken and their independence was crushed by the horrors of a "holy war," preached by Popes and Churchmen against the heretic enemies of the faith. The South of France was

The Albigensian Crusade

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cut off from the North by language, by race, by ways of life and by habits of mind. The sunny lands between the Rhone and the Bay of Biscay were the home of romance and chivalry, inhabited by a gay, pleasure-loving, poetic, eloquent people, sensitive, imaginative and alert. East and West touched in the busy cities along the Mediterranean shore, and the intercourse with alien civilizations quickened and stimulated intellectual curiosity. Such a soil was well fitted for the growth of new and original modes of thought, and the teaching of *Cathari*, "Petrobrussians," and "Henricians" (see p. 121) found a ready response in the southern provinces. Before the end of the twelfth century the Count of Toulouse, Raymond V., wrote that the new beliefs had penetrated everywhere, and had sowed discord in all households. His son, Raymond VI., was himself a friend to heretics. The "Albigenses," as the thirteenth-century southern *Cathari* were called, from the town of Albi, believed in the dual government of the world by a good and an evil power, and rejected many of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. As founders of what was practically a new religion, as daring innovators and rebels against authority, they were early recognized as a source of serious danger to the unity of the faith. When Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 he set himself to the task of rooting out the Albigensian heresy. But ten years of peaceful exhortation, of missions and preaching in which St Dominic took an active part, and of threats of excommunication, had produced comparatively little effect when, in 1208, the murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, by the heretics gave an excuse for adopting more violent measures. A crusade was preached, Count Raymond VI. was excommunicated, and the armed

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chivalry of the North of France poured into Languedoc, to fight the battles of the Church. It was in vain that Raymond VI. made humble submission to the Pope: his lands were conquered by Simon, lord of the northern fief of Montfort l'Amauri, the father of the later champion of English freedom, his ally Peter King of Aragon was killed at the battle of Muret in 1213, and in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council confirmed to Simon de Montfort the greater part of his conquests, but left to the son of Raymond VI. the lands beyond the Rhone. Though this decree closed the first stage of the war, hostilities began again almost immediately, when Raymond and his son tried to recover their fiefs. Toulouse revolted; in the siege which followed Simon de Montfort was killed, and his death renewed the war all along the line. The struggle now to a great extent lost its religious character and became a mere dynastic and political contest. When Louis VIII. came to the throne the Pope, Honorius III., and the southern bishops begged him to intervene. He consented on condition that all the forfeited lands of the Count of Toulouse and the other feudatories should be placed at his disposal. He had already, before his accession, twice visited Languedoc during the war, and in May 1226 he marched south, for the third time, at the head of an army of Crusaders. Avignon was blockaded, and surrendered at the end of August. The King rode unopposed through the troubled districts, made provision for the government of the country as a royal fief, and in October prepared to return to Paris through Auvergne. He had reached Montpensier when he succumbed to a sharp attack of illness. He died on November 8th, commending the regency of the kingdom to his wife, Blanche of Castile.

Crusade and death of Louis VIII., 1226

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Louis IX. (*St Louis*), 1226-1270

France was now faced with the perils of a minority, for Louis, the young king, was only twelve years old, and the feudal nobles, seeing the country in the hands of a woman and a child, were eager to recover the power which they had lost under Philip Augustus. The king's uncle, Philip Hurepel Count of Boulogne, Pierre Mauclerc Count of Britanny, Raymond VII., now by his father's death Count of Toulouse, the Duke of Burgundy, and others, formed a league against "the Spaniard," the foreign queen-regent, and allied themselves with England.

With masterly decision, Blanche of Castile, "a woman in sex, but a man in counsel," caused her son to be consecrated at Rheims, and threw herself on the support of the clergy and the people, the one faithful feudatory, Theobald of Champagne, and the Pope, Honorius III. The Emperor Frederick II. remained neutral, Henry III. of England was dilatory, and by diplomacy and energy Blanche succeeded in breaking up the feudal coalition.

Treaty of Meaux, 1229

In 1229 Raymond of Toulouse, by the Treaty of Meaux, was secured in the possession of a portion of his father's dominions, on condition of giving his daughter and heiress in marriage to the king's brother, of reconciling himself with the Church, and of continuing the persecution of the heretics. The establishment of an "Inquisition" or organized system of ecclesiastical examination of suspected heretics completed the subjugation of the South of France. In 1233 the Pope entrusted the management of the Inquisition to the Dominicans, to be exercised in his name.

Last Revolt of Raymond VII., 1243

One last desperate attempt on the part of Raymond VII. to shake off the French yoke in 1243 failed signally. The Albigensian tragedy ended with a horrible massacre of heretics at Mt. Ségur in 1244, and in 1247 the death of Raymond

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gave the County of Toulouse to his son-in-law, the king's brother, Alphonse of Poitou.

Personal Government of Louis IX., 1234-1270

Louis IX. came of age in 1234, and assumed the personal government of the kingdom, though the queen-regent retained much influence till her death in 1252. For nearly forty years, till his lonely death in 1270, he stands out, a singularly attractive figure in his purity and integrity, as a simple follower after righteousness among worldly Popes, ambitious Emperors, self-seeking princes, and intriguing politicians. The formal canonization of the Church was hardly needed to win him recognition as a saint. A favourite subject of mediæval art, his portrait, more or less idealized, appears in frescoes, in sculpture, and in stained-glass windows, while chroniclers and historians are unanimous in his praise. He was tall, slight and fair, with thick light hair, soft eyes and an "angelic" expression. Simple though daintily refined in dress and manners, so devout that he was reproached as being more fit for a king of the Friars than of the French, ascetic, charitable, energetic, pitiful to the poor, but high-spirited and even hasty-tempered on occasion, Saint Louis seems to have deeply impressed his age by the mere power of unpretending goodness, rather than by any specially brilliant gifts of intellect and imagination. In the charming pages of his friend and biographer, the Sieur de Joinville, he is described as a lover of God, of his people, and of truth, and the friar who preached his funeral sermon called him "the most loyal man of his time."

At the opening of his period of personal rule Louis IX. found himself in a strong position. His father, following a policy which afterwards proved fatal in its results, had portioned out the great fiefs among his sons. Alphonse was Count of Poitou and Auvergne; his wife

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was the heiress of Toulouse. Robert was Count of Artois, and Charles ruled over Anjou and Maine. Louis himself was married to a daughter of Raymond Berenger, Marquis of Provence, and her sister was the wife of Charles of Anjou. Thus a royal nobility was formed which, whatever its later dangers, for the moment, supported the crown. A feudal rising in Poitou, in alliance with England, was suppressed. The Count of Toulouse was reduced to submission, and by 1248 Louis felt himself at liberty to carry out his cherished scheme of a Crusade for the relief of the Holy Land, where in 1244 Jerusalem had been taken by the Charismians, the fierce Turkish mercenaries of the Sultan of Egypt. Louis determined to strike directly at the Egyptian power. He captured the port of Damietta without much difficulty, but in attempting to press on to Cairo his troops suffered a severe defeat at Mansourah, and Robert of Artois was killed. Forced to fall back on Damietta, Louis himself was taken prisoner, and only regained his freedom on payment of a heavy ransom. After spending nearly four years in Syria, fortifying the seaports, he returned to France in 1254.

First Crusade of Louis IX., 1248-1254

Home and Foreign Policy of Louis IX.

During the next sixteen years Louis IX. played a leading part in European politics. He refused the Sicilian crown for himself, but saw his brother Charles of Anjou ruling as King of Sicily. He tried to mediate between Frederick II. and the Papacy, and in the troubled times after Frederick's death he supported Alfonso of Castile against Richard of Cornwall. He was called in to arbitrate by the Mise of Amiens between Henry III. and the barons in the civil war in England. At home his feudal vassals submitted their differences to him. To the Papacy his attitude was

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reverent, but never servile, and though he protected the Gallican Church, he would not suffer the clergy to usurp privileges, or unduly extend their jurisdiction. To the Friars he was always a friend and patron. He was himself a member of the "Third Order" of the Franciscans (see p. 230), and he relied on their help in his administrative reforms, and in return lavished favours and privileges upon them.

His reign marks an important stage in the centralization and organization of the administrative system. Joinville tells how he would do justice in person, seated under an oak tree in the forest of Vincennes, but he could also legislate for wider interests, and make the royal justice felt as a reality throughout the kingdom. The local officials, the *baillis* and *sénéchaux* of Philip Augustus, were more closely connected with the central authority by means of regular circuits of *enquesteurs* or itinerant justices charged with the supervision of local government. The Central Court began to specialize its functions, and to divide into the *Grand Conseil*, for the ordinary administrative and political work of the kingdom, the *Parlement* or judicial department, and the financial committees which were afterwards developed into the *Chambre des Comptes.* The Parlement acted as a court of final appeal, and the power of the King's Court was greatly strengthened by the increase in *cas royaux*, cases which, like the "Pleas of the Crown" in England, were specially reserved for the royal jurisdiction. Provision was made for the strict supervision of the local officials, and the coinage was reformed and regulated. Well might Joinville write that Louis "considered and thought that to amend the kingdom of France was a right fair thing."

Amidst all these manifold activities the king had never

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Second Crusade and death of Louis IX., 1270

lost sight of the needs of the Holy Land, and in 1270, accompanied by his three sons, he embarked at Aigues-Mortes on a second crusading expedition. Tempted by the hope of converting the ruler of Tunis to Christianity, he landed in Africa in the scorching summer heat. Soon pestilence was devastating his army, and on August 25 Louis himself passed away, murmuring, "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" as he lay dying. His eldest son, Philip III., brought back his body to France to be buried at Saint-Denis, "where," in the words of Joinville, reflecting the belief of the time, "God wrought many fair miracles for him and by his merits."

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CHAPTER XIV

THE THIRD AND FOURTH CRUSADES AND THE LATIN EMPIRE OF THE EAST [1149-1261]

FORTY years after the loss of Edessa a still heavier blow fell upon the Syrian Franks in the capture of the Holy City itself by the Turks, and once more the call to a Crusade sounded throughout Western Christendom. The years which followed the failure of the Second Crusade saw the gradual decline of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin III. and his brother and successor Amalric I. were brave and able, but they died young, and Amalric's son, Baldwin IV., was a leper from his childhood. The great Frank nobles were selfish and ambitious, the Military Orders grew headstrong and arrogant, and the European settlers, enervated by the hot climate and the luxurious Oriental life, intermarried with the Syrians and adopted their customs. "God," wrote the chronicler Fulcher of Chartres, "has poured the West into the East; we who were Westerns are now Easterns." The Emperor of Constantinople and the King of Sicily were too intent on their own interests in Africa and Asia to combine effectually with the Franks of Palestine, and while the Christians were thus divided among themselves, Zengy's son Nur-ed-din, lord of Aleppo and Damascus, and his greater follower Saladin were building up a strong united Mohammedan State in Syria and Egypt which hemmed in the Latin kingdom and threatened its very existence.

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Baldwin III., 1143-1163

Amalric I., 1163-1174

Baldwin IV., 1174-1183 (resigned the Crown)

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Condition of Egypt

The situation of Egypt in the middle of the twelfth century invited the intervention of foreign powers, and both Amalric of Jerusalem and Nur-ed-din of Syria were anxious to win a permanent foothold in the fertile and wealthy valley of the Nile. The Fatimite Caliph was now a mere puppet, completely overshadowed by his grand vizir, or chief minister. A quarrel between two rival vizirs led one of them, Shawir, to take refuge with Nur-ed-din, who sent an army to reinstate him, under the command of Shirkuh, Saladin's uncle. Dreading the ambition of Shirkuh, Shawir opened negotiations with the King of Jerusalem, but when the Franks invaded Egypt Nur-ed-din regained his former influence, and in the end Shirkuh brought about the death of Shawir and succeeded him in the office of grand vizir. On Shirkuh's death in 1169, his place was taken by his famous nephew Saladin or Salah-ed-din, "Honour of the Faith." In vain did the Emperor Manuel and Amalric of Jerusalem make a joint attack on Damietta in 1169. They were forced to retire, and by 1171 Saladin felt himself sufficiently strong to suppress the Fatimite Caliphate and to restore Egypt to the orthodox faith. Three years later, in 1174, the deaths of Amalric I. and of Nur-ed-din, "the just prince," opened the way for the lord of Egypt to win Syria also. In 1174 Saladin took Damascus. In 1175 the Caliph of Bagdad recognized him as King of Egypt and Syria. By 1183 he had conquered Aleppo and was revered far and wide as "King of all the kings of the East," "Sultan of Islam and of the Moslems."

Death of Nur-ed-din, 1174

In that same year, 1183, Baldwin IV., the leper-king of Jerusalem, resigned his crown to his baby nephew, Baldwin V., son of his sister Sibylla and of her first husband, William of Montferrat. By 1186 both the

Baldwin V.

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child-king and his unhappy uncle were dead, and the kingdom was a prey to rival factions. A party headed by the Grand Master of the Templars and the Patriarch Heraclius procured the coronation of Sibylla and her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, but the powerful Count Raymond of Tripoli remained in opposition, and in the dissensions of the Christian princes Saladin saw his opportunity. The capture of a Saracen caravan by the lord of Kerak gave an excuse for the proclamation of the Holy War. Palestine was invaded, and on July 4th, 1187, the Franks were utterly defeated in the great battle of Hattin, near Tiberias. King Guy was taken prisoner, and the Holy Cross, the venerated standard in which was enclosed a piece of wood believed to be part of the cross on which Christ suffered, fell into the hands of the Turks. Town after town and fortress after fortress now surrendered to Saladin, until on September 20th he appeared before Jerusalem. On October 2nd, 1187, after a short siege, the Holy City, the crowning conquest of the First Crusade, was restored to the Mohammedans, and Saladin was honoured as the champion of the faith and the vanquisher of the worshippers of the cross. When the Archbishop of Tyre, in a black-sailed ship, brought the news of the Battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem to the West, Europe was stirred by something of the generous enthusiasm of the early crusading days. France rang with the lament of the poet Berter of Orleans for the "Wood of the Cross" which had so often led the Christian hosts to victory. A "Saladin tithe" was levied in France and England for the rescue of Jerusalem, and women urged their sons and husbands to offer themselves for the Holy War. Throughout Western Europe great preparations were made. Among

Coronation of Sibylla and Guy of Lusignan, 1186

Battle of Hattin or Tiberias, July 4, 1187

Capture of Jerusalem by the Turks, Oct. 2, 1187

Preaching of the Third Crusade

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the first to take the cross were Richard of Poitou, his father, Henry II. of England, and Philip Augustus of France. William the Good, King of Sicily, sent a fleet to the relief of the Syrian ports. The aged Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, led the German Crusaders through Hungary and Bulgaria in the spring of 1189, only to meet a tragic death in a river of Asia Minor, in the following year (see p. 170). The English and French Crusaders, delayed by the quarrels of their rulers, did not start till June 1190, nearly a year after the death of Henry II. (see p. 187). The two kings, Richard I. and Philip Augustus, took the Mediterranean route and met in Sicily, where they spent the winter in undignified wrangling. William the Good had recently died, and the Sicilian crown had been seized by Tancred of Lecce, an illegitimate prince of the royal house. The late king's widow was Richard's sister, and a dispute with Tancred over her dowry led to the English taking Messina "quicker than a priest could chant matins," an exploit which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace and alliance between Tancred and the King of England. Philip Augustus sailed for the Holy Land in the spring of 1191, while Richard followed in leisurely fashion, pausing on the way to conquer Cyprus and depose and imprison the so-called "Emperor" of the island, Isaac Comnenus. At Cyprus, too, he celebrated his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre, who had joined him in Sicily.

Death of Frederick Barbarossa, 1190

The English and French hosts in Sicily

The French and English hosts met once more beneath the walls of Acre, the gathering place of all the forces of the Crusade. The siege of Acre, which lasted nearly two years, was the central event of the Third Crusade. The strongly-fortified city, with its excellent harbour, was, next to Jerusalem, the most valuable of the Turkish

Siege of Acre, August 1189 to July 1191

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conquests, and King Guy, now released from captivity and absolved by the clergy from his oath not to bear arms against Saladin, led his small army against it in the August of 1189. Though the Christians were strengthened by the arrival of the various crusading contingents, Scandinavians and Flemings, English, and French, with the survivors of the German expedition, it was found impossible to isolate the city completely, and Saladin hemmed in the besiegers from without till they were themselves besieged, and began to suffer from famine and pestilence. They beat back Saladin's troops and fortified their camp with earth works, but the Turks destroyed their siege engines with the deadly "Greek fire," and their position seemed desperate when the two great kings of France and England arrived—Philip at the end of April 1191, Richard at the beginning of June. Philip was welcomed "as if he were an angel," and when Richard appeared, "there was great joy, because the desired of all nations had come." The besieged lost heart, and on July 12th Acre surrendered. The Crusaders had gained a great victory, yet party spirit lost what courage and perseverance had won. To the feuds between the French and English was added a dispute over the succession to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Queen Sibylla and her children had died in 1190, and the crown was claimed by Guy of Lusignan, supported by the English, and by Conrad of Montferrat, who married Sibylla's sister Isabella, and was favoured by the French. Soon after the capture of Acre Philip Augustus pleaded ill-health as an excuse for returning to Europe, and though Richard pressed on to Jaffa (Joppa), defeating the Turks on the way at Arsuf, he failed in two attempts to reach Jerusalem, and had to rest content with rebuilding Ascalon and repulsing Saladin's

Battle of Arsuf

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troops from Jaffa. A later tradition tells how, when he was within sight of the Holy City, he refused to look upon it, since he could not reconquer it. Early in 1192 the recognition of Conrad of Montferrat as King of Jerusalem was followed by his murder by the emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain," the chief of the sect of the Assassins, and the succession question was compromised by the election of Henry of Champagne, a nephew of both Richard of England and Philip of France, to the throne of Jerusalem, by his marriage with Conrad's widow Isabella, and by the grant of the island of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan as compensation for the loss of the kingdom. Meanwhile, things were going badly in Richard's European dominions, and in the autumn of 1192 he made peace with Saladin, and left the Holy Land, amidst the lamentations of the people. A few months later his generous rival Saladin died at Damascus.

Romance has made the Third Crusade its own, and has woven a tissue of legend about the gallant Richard Cœur de Lion and the chivalrous Saladin. In reality, the great expedition, led by an Emperor and two kings, effected little, though the narrow strip of coast, from Tyre to Jaffa, which the Christians retained, kept the Syrian ports open to western trade, and the Mohammedan advance was checked until, on Saladin's death, the Turkish power ceased for a while to be a danger to Christendom. The division of Saladin's Empire among his descendants might have been turned to profit by the Christians of the East, but for the internal dissensions which troubled both the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire.

State of the Eastern Empire

Shortly after the death of Manuel I. in 1180 his young son Alexius II. was strangled by his kinsman, the regent

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Andronicus Comnenus, who seized the throne, only to fall a victim in his turn to the fury of the mob. With him ended the great line of the Emperors of the house of Comnenus, and Isaac Angelus, a noble whose wrongs had given occasion for the revolt against Andronicus, succeeded to the imperial dignity. After ten disastrous years, in which Bulgaria and Cyprus were lost to the Empire, Isaac was deposed, blinded, and shut up in a monastery by his equally incompetent brother Alexius III., who was proclaimed Emperor in 1195. In 1197 the far-reaching schemes of eastern conquest of the Hohenstaufen Henry VI. were only frustrated by his untimely death (see p. 176). Six years later the blow fell, and the Fourth Crusade resulted in a Latin conquest of Constantinople.

Isaac Angelus, 1185-1195

Alexius III., 1195-1203

Innocent III. and the Fourth Crusade

When Innocent III. became Pope in 1198 it was in keeping with his lofty ambitions that he should seek to reunite the Eastern and Western churches, to revive the crusading enthusiasm, and to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre. He negotiated with Alexius III., and encouraged the preaching of a Crusade by the eloquent French priest Fulk of Neuilly. A crusading force was organized under the leadership of Theobald of Champagne, an attack on the Holy Land was planned by way of Egypt, and an arrangement was made with Venice for a supply of ships and provisions in exchange for a large sum of money and the promise of a half share in the lands conquered from the Turks. But the shrewd Venetians cared more for their own interests than for the Holy War. When the Crusaders failed to raise the sum for which they had covenanted, they were induced to defray their debt by the capture of the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which the Hungarian king had taken from the Venetian republic. While they lingered at Zara, an appeal for aid was made to

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them from another quarter. Alexius, the son of the deposed Isaac Angelus, had fled to his brother-in-law, Philip of Swabia, and had long been seeking help from the princes of Europe. He now proposed that the Crusaders should replace his father on the throne of Constantinople, in return for future support in the conquest of the Holy Land. In vain did Innocent III. refuse to sanction this diversion of the crusading army; in vain did the more single-minded Crusaders protest against the abandonment of their sacred aim. Theobald of Champagne had died before the expedition started, and his place had been taken by Boniface of Montferrat, the brother of Conrad of Jerusalem, an able soldier of fortune, who now, with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and the Doge of Venice, led the crusading hosts against Constantinople. Though a land attack on the city was repulsed, the Venetians were successful in effecting an entrance from the side of the sea. Alexius III. fled, and Isaac Angelus was reinstated. The demands of the Crusaders, however, drove Isaac and his son to intolerable exactions, and in January 1204 the mob rose under Alexius Ducas, called "Murtzuphlus" from his shaggy eyebrows, and shut the gates on the Crusaders. Isaac II. died of shock, his son Alexius was put to death, and Alexius Ducas was hailed as the Emperor Alexius V. His reign was of brief duration. Two months of careful preparation enabled the Crusaders to attack Constantinople in force. The city was taken and ruthlessly sacked, its priceless treasures of classic art were carried off or destroyed, and its churches were despoiled of their relics. Alexius Ducas was captured and executed, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was elected Emperor, while Boniface of Montferrat became "King of Thessalonica," and the Venetians received "a quarter and

Capture of Constantinople, 1203

Alexius V., 1204

Second Siege, Capture and Sack of Constantinople, 1204

Baldwin I., 1204-1205

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half a quarter" of the Empire, including Crete, the Ionian Islands, many of the islands in the Ægean Sea, and valuable ports and harbours in Greece and on the Dardanelles. A Venetian was consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople, and word was sent to the Pope that the churches of the East and West were united.

The Latin Empire of the East

A feudal state on the Latin model, with many powerful princes under the nominal overlordship of the Emperor, now replaced the highly centralized Byzantine despotism. While fiefs which had not as yet been conquered from the Greeks were granted out to Latin nobles, independent Greek Empires were established by the General Theodore Lascaris at Nicæa, and by a Comnenus at Trebizond, and an Angelus ruled as "despot" at Epirus. For fifty-seven years the Latin Empire of Constantinople dragged out a feeble existence. Baldwin I. was killed by the Bulgarians a year after his accession; he was succeeded by his brother Henry, and on his death in 1216 the Empire came into the incapable hands of his brother-in-law Peter of Courtenay, who fell a victim to the Epirots, and was followed in quick succession by his sons, Robert, who died in 1228, and Baldwin II. The Latin Empire was now at its last gasp, destitute of money and resources, and Baldwin spent most of his time wandering about Europe, begging for assistance. In 1235 a Greek attack on Constantinople was successfully resisted, but the final catastrophe was only averted. The Emperors of Nicæa, Theodore Lascaris and his son-in-law John Ducas, had built up a strong and prosperous state in Asia Minor, and had subdued the despot of Epirus, who had assumed the title of Emperor after his conquest of the kingdom of Thessalonica. When in 1258 Theodore II., the successor of John Ducas, died, the able and unscrupulous Michael Palæologus deposed

Empires of Nicæa and Trebizond

The "Despot" of Epirus

Henry, 1105-1216

Peter of Courtenay, 1217-1219

Robert, 1219-1228

Baldwin II., 1228-1261

Death of John III., Ducas, 1254

Death of Theodore II., Ducas. 1258

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Deposition of John IV., Ducas, 1259

Michael VIII., Palæologus, 1259-1282

his little son John IV. and usurped his throne. In 1261 Michael's troops suddenly attacked Constantinople in the absence of the protecting Venetian fleet, and the city submitted almost without a blow. Palæologus was recognized as the Emperor Michael VIII., and the Latin Empire of the East came to an inglorious end.

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CHAPTER XV

FREDERICK II. AND THE STRIFE WITH THE PAPACY

(1216-1250)

Frederick II., 1197-1250

THE story of the life and death of the Emperor Frederick II. has all the dramatic interest of a great tragedy. The "child of Apulia," the son of a Sicilian-Norman mother and of a German father, educated in the half-oriental atmosphere of southern Italy, transplanted while still a youth to the ruder harsher north, a genius checked and thwarted by untoward circumstances, he embodied in his restless versatile complex nature the very spirit of the thirteenth century, keen, passionate, eager, subtle, and sceptical.

The fifty-six years of Frederick's life may be divided into four periods, each connected with the figure, friendly or hostile, of a powerful Pope. In his orphaned childhood and early youth he was the ward and favourite of Innocent III. From 1216 to 1227 he appears as the wily politician, skilfully managing Honorius III. From 1227 to 1241 he is the warrior, entering the lists against the redoubtable Gregory IX., and the close of the half-century saw him worsted in the final struggle with the still more formidable Innocent IV. The childhood of Frederick II., King of Sicily at three years old, was passed amidst stormy scenes. Contemporary chroniclers give us glimpses of him as a boy, carried off by Markwald

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of Ancona and striking his captors in impotent rage, or curbing his spirited horse and brandishing his sword in mimic warfare, or reading history in the long evenings. Of medium height, but strong and well-knit, he inherited the fair complexion and reddish hair of his Hohenstaufen grandfather Barbarossa. His naturally quick intelligence was carefully trained and developed under both European and Saracen masters, and the cosmopolitan court of Palermo, the "trilingual town," Latin, Greek, and Arab, was in itself a school of politics and diplomacy, of science and philosophy, languages and art. Married at the age of sixteen to Constance, sister of the King of Aragon, Frederick was crowned King of Germany two years later, in 1212, but it was not till the death of Innocent III. in 1216 that he began to rule in fact as well as in name, and was able to gather up into his capable hands the threads of many conflicting interests, Sicilian, Roman, Lombard, and Eastern, and to weave them into a strong and systematic policy.

Innocent's successor on the papal throne was Honorius III., of the Roman house of Savelli, who had been Frederick's tutor. His heart was set on carrying out Innocent's crusading project. Though the Fourth Crusade had been diverted from its object, soldiers of the Cross were fighting, in the early years of the thirteenth century, against the heretics of Southern France, the Moors of Spain and the heathen Prussians of the North. In 1212 and 1213 the strange phenomenon of the "Crusade of Children" recalled the extravagant fervour of the days of Peter the Hermit. Thousands of hapless children and peasants embarked for the Holy Land at Marseilles, under the guidance of a shepherd boy of Vendôme, or followed a young German visionary across the Alps into Italy,

The Crusade of Children, 1212-1213

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hoping to reach Palestine by way of Brindisi. Many were lost at sea, many were sold into slavery in Africa, while others perished of hunger and exhaustion. But their enthusiasm proved that the crusading spirit was not dead, and in 1215, after the coronation at Aachen, Frederick II. took the cross, "to show his gratitude to God." When in 1218 the death of Otto of Brunswick freed him from his once dangerous rival, the Pope urged him to fulfil his vow and to join the expedition which, in accordance with the decree of the Lateran Council, had left Europe in the preceding year. The King of Jerusalem at this time was John, brother of Walter of Brienne, and husband of the daughter of Queen Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat (see Table V.). With the help of a contingent of Dutch, Scandinavian, and German Crusaders he was now besieging Damietta, and Frederick's arrival in Egypt was eagerly expected. Sicily and the Empire, however, were more to the son of Henry VI. than the needs of the Holy Land, or even his plighted word. He had promised Innocent III. to renounce the title of King of Sicily, to confer the kingdom on his young son Henry, to be held as a fief of the Papacy, and to keep the Sicilian kingdom and the Empire apart. Yet in 1220 he induced the German princes, by lavish grants of privileges, to elect Henry King of the Romans, and in the same year he crossed the Brenner into Italy, was crowned Emperor at Rome, and persuaded the Pope to allow him to hold Sicily for his lifetime, on condition that the personal union of the two crowns should not become a real administrative union of the German and Sicilian kingdoms. In return, Frederick made extensive concessions to the Papacy; the clergy were exempted from taxation and lay jurisdiction, all municipal statutes and customs which were opposed to

Coronation of Frederick II. as Emperor at Rome, 1220

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ecclesiastical liberty were annulled, and the secular power was placed at the disposal of the Church for the extirpation of heresy. In addition, the Emperor renewed his crusading vow. Meanwhile, the Crusaders in Egypt had won Damietta, only to lose it again. Frederick, instead of hastening to the rescue, occupied himself in subduing a revolt of the Saracens in Sicily, and won the Pope's unwilling consent to the postponement of the fulfilment of his pledge. Finally the Emperor took an oath to start in 1227, on pain of excommunication, married as his second wife Yolande, or Isabella, daughter and heiress of John de Brienne, and in her right assumed the title of King of Jerusalem.

Gregory IX., 1227-1241

Crusade of Frederick II., 1227-1229

The preparations for the long-delayed Crusade were approaching completion, when, in March 1227, Honorius III. died, and was succeeded as Pope by a kinsman of Innocent III., the aged but fiery and resolute Gregory IX. In August 1227 Frederick II. set sail from Brindisi for the Holy Land. Three days later, on the pretext of illness, he returned to Italy, and was forthwith excommunicated by the Pope. Nothing daunted, he started again in June 1228, and reached Acre in September. The Military Orders held aloof from the excommunicated Crusader; the friars preached against him, and many of his followers deserted him. Public opinion was still further outraged by the means he took to gain his ends. He entered into negotiations with the Sultan of Egypt, and induced him to grant a ten years' truce and to cede Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem to the Christians, with the exception of the Mosque of Omar on the site of the Temple. On March 18th, 1229, Frederick marched into the Holy City as king, and on the following day, since the Patriarch of Jerusalem would not crown him, he lifted the royal crown

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from the altar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and placed it on his own head, without "prelate, priest, or clerk." He then took ship for Italy, and arrived at Brindisi early in June. Even before his departure for Palestine the renewal of the quarrel between Empire and Papacy had led to the issue of manifestoes on both sides, while the imperial partisans had stirred up so fierce a tumult in Rome that Gregory IX. had been forced to fly from the city. While the Emperor was in the Holy Land the Pope was preaching a crusade against him at home. The papal troops, with the keys of St Peter on their banner, led by John de Brienne, the ex-king of Jerusalem, and by two cardinals, invaded Southern Italy, and the Mendicant Friars exhorted the people to maintain the cause of the Church. But when Frederick returned he quickly recovered all that he had lost, and in 1230 the Pope accepted the peace of San Germano, and released the Emperor from excommunication.

Peace of San Germano 1230

The next five years were the most tranquil time in Frederick's troubled life, when an interval of comparative peace allowed him to regulate the internal affairs of his Empire, and to prove himself a statesman of no mean capacity. In Sicily he ruled as a beneficent despot, and established a strong, centralized, absolute government. Three things, he said himself, ought to go hand in hand, learning, law, and arms, and these three he gave to his Italian subjects. He provided himself with a valuable force of mercenary soldiers by transporting large numbers of rebellious Sicilian Saracens to the mainland and establishing them as a military colony at Lucera in Apulia. He founded the University of Naples, and patronized the school of medicine at Salerno. Learned men—Jews, Arabs or Europeans—crowded his Court, among them the famous

Government of Sicily

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astrologer and translator of Aristotle, Michael Scott. He was himself a poet, and wrote verse in the vulgar tongue, so that Dante could see the source of Italian poetry in the Sicilian Court. If in this he resembles the royal troubadour Richard Cœur de Lion, in his administrative ability and activity he recalls Richard's greater father, Henry of Anjou, or his own grandfather, Roger of Sicily. Like them he was an organizer and a unifier, bringing different laws and customs, Greek, Roman, or Lombard, into harmonious order. In 1231 he issued a celebrated series of ordinances from Melfi, the "constitutions of the kingdom of Sicily," for the better government of his dominions. Nobles, ecclesiastics, and cities were subjected to the High Courts of justice and finance, and the Grand Justiciar made an annual visitation of the kingdom, to supervise the local officials, justices, financial "chamberlains" (*camerarii*), and bailiffs. Representative general assemblies foreshadowed a parliamentary system. The towns were placed under royal control, and everywhere the king's hand was heavy on the feudal nobles. Royal grants of land were resumed, royal castles overawed the country, while feudal dues were strictly exacted, feudal privileges were curtailed, ecclesiastical jurisdiction was regulated, and constant aids and subsidies filled the king's coffers.

Government of Germany

Very different was Frederick's policy in Germany, where he bribed the princes with concessions and privileges to support the Ghibeline house, and encouraged the tendency to feudal disruption and the rule of the aristocracy. The year 1231, which saw the issue of the Sicilian ordinance, saw also the promulgation at Worms of the "Statute in favour of the princes" (*Statutum in favorem principum*), which gave

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almost complete judicial and military independence to the territorial magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, and restricted in their favour the liberties of the imperial cities. In 1232, also, a severe edict was directed against the German communes and confraternities. The long absences of the Emperor gave further opportunity to the nobles to extend their power. The young king Henry VII. was formally crowned in 1222, and the government of Germany was carried on in his name, but after the assassination in 1225 of his wise counsellor, Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, "the pillar of the Church and the shield of the State," the country fell into utter anarchy, aggravated by the terrible persecutions of heretics which Frederick had sanctioned, to win the approval of the clergy. Henry VII., weakly ambitious, and impatient of his father's authority, tried to organize an opposition party by allying with the towns and the smaller nobility against the princes. In 1232 the disagreement between father and son ended in an actual revolt, but Henry was easily subdued, and condemned to perpetual seclusion in Apulia, where ten years later he died. His place as nominal ruler of Germany was taken by his young brother Conrad, son of Yolande of Brienne.

Revolt of Henry VII., 1232

Frederick II. reached the climax of his power in 1235, when, after his marriage with his third wife, Isabella, sister of Henry III. of England, he held a great assembly at Mainz, where "peace was sworn, ancient laws were established, and new laws were decreed." An attempt was made to give Germany a centralized judicial organization on the Sicilian model, but the confirmation of the sovereign rights and privileges of the princes prevented any effectual administrative consolidation.

The real development of Germany in the thirteenth

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Social and economic development of Germany

century was social and economic rather than political, provincial rather than imperial. The quarrel with the Welfs was healed, and the heir of Henry the Lion was established in the new duchy of Brunswick. The King of Denmark was forced to cede the lands he had conquered in the north, and a way was opened for further expansion towards the east. The marquises of Brandenburg won and colonized Pomerania. The military Order of the "Knights of the Sword" conquered Livonia and Curland. The great Teutonic Order, with which the Knights of the Sword were subsequently united, abandoned the defence of the Holy Land, the work for which it had been founded in the twelfth century, to support the Poles in the subjugation of heathen Prussia, and Hermann of Salza, the Grand Master of the Order, the loyal friend of Frederick II., received from the Emperor a confirmation and extension of the grants of Prussian territory already made by the Polish duke to the Teutonic Knights.

The "Knights of the Sword" and the Teutonic Order

Meantime, in spite of opposition, the German cities grew in wealth and independence, the old German laws and customs were written down in the collections called the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel*, and the writings of lyrists like Walther von der Vogelweide and romantic poets like Wolfram von Eschenbach gave literary distinction to the German language, while great princes like Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of the holy Saint Elizabeth, and Frederick, Duke of Austria, posed as the patrons of men of letters, and surrounded themselves with *Minnesinger* and courtly satirists.

Second Lombard War

If in Sicily Frederick II. ruled as an absolute monarch and in Germany as the feudal chief of a federation of princes, in both kingdoms, by coercion or conciliation, he

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had made himself master. Defeat and a tragic downfall were to come to him from his North Italian dominions, from the Lombard cities and the ever-hostile Papacy. As early as 1226 the cities of northern Italy, uneasy at Frederick's growing power in the south, had renewed the Lombard League, and had been put to the ban of the Empire. In 1234 they had supported Henry VII. in his revolt, and had recognized him as King of Italy. In 1235 Henry again solemnly renewed the League, the "Society of Lombardy, the March and Romagna" (*Societas Lombardiæ, Marchiæ et Romagnæ*), while the Emperor declared war upon them in the assembly at Mainz. In 1236 he crossed the Alps into Italy, "to avenge the wrongs of his father and grandfather, and to root out the hateful plant of liberty." In the war which followed, Milan was the leader of a strong anti-imperial party, while Frederick was supported by Pavia, Parma, Cremona, and a few other cities, and by the powerful Ezzelino da Romano, the lord of Verona, the city which commanded the road from Germany to Italy over the Brenner Pass. In 1236 the imperialists sacked Vicenza, and in 1237 they won a great victory at Cortenuova, between Brescia and Milan. The Milanese *carroccio* was taken, and dragged in triumph by an elephant through the streets of Cremona, with the podestà of Milan bound to the standard pole. It was significant that Frederick, whose soldiers had gone into battle crying "Rome and the Emperor" (*Miles Roma, miles imperator*) afterwards sent the *carroccio* as a gift to the Romans. The League would now have made peace had not the Emperor demanded such stringent conditions that the Milanese chose rather to perish sword in hand than to submit. Brescia made a heroic resistance, and in 1239 the Pope

Battle of Cortenuova, 1237

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openly declared for the cities and excommunicated Frederick. In letters and manifestoes both parties appealed to public opinion, and once more the kingdoms of Europe took sides in the duel of Empire and Papacy. Frederick wrote to the princes of Christendom, describing the Pope as "a proud priest and false prophet," and reminding them that in an attack on one of their number the honour of all was concerned. Gregory compared the Emperor to the beast that rose up out of the sea in the book of Revelations, and accused him of blasphemy and heresy. For two years the war raged with extraordinary bitterness. Frederick stirred up strife in Rome and the Papal States, while Gregory tried to rouse discontent in Germany. Venice and Genoa lent their aid to the Papacy, but on the whole fortune favoured the Emperor, and in 1240 only the unusual loyalty of the Romans to the Pope prevented the imperialists from entering the Eternal City. When, in 1241, Gregory summoned a General Council to meet at Rome, the imperial fleet captured the Genoese ships in which the foreign prelates had embarked, and took prisoner so many ecclesiastical dignitaries that the Council had to be postponed. The Milanese were defeated by the citizens of Pavia, and, encouraged by these successes, the Emperor again advanced on Rome, and was within sight of the city when he heard of the death of the Pope. Gregory IX. had nearly reached his hundredth year when, indomitable to the last, he succumbed to age and infirmities, with the enemy at his gates. An intrepid politician, a zealot and persecutor, a great Canon lawyer, with a profound belief in the papal supremacy, his struggles with the rebellious Romans, who more than once drove him from the city, and the long war with the Emperor, could not shake his

Death of Gregory IX.

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courage or bend his iron will. "He is dead," wrote Frederick II., "who deprived the earth of peace, and by whom discord flourished." Celestine IV., the Pope elected in Gregory's place, died before he could be consecrated, and for a year and a half the papal throne was vacant. Then it was filled by a friend of Frederick II., Sinibaldo Fieschi, destined to become famous under the name of Innocent IV. Frederick's exclamation on hearing of the election, "I have lost a friend, no Pope can be a Ghibeline," was probably put into his mouth by later historians, yet it expresses the truth.

Innocent IV., 1241-1254

After some feeble attempts at making peace, Innocent IV. fled to Genoa, and retired thence to Lyons, where in 1245 he held a General Council, in which sentence of excommunication and deposition was pronounced on the Emperor, for breaking peace with the Church, for sacrilege in taking prelates prisoner on their way to a Council, for heresy and for perjury. "Day of wrath and day of mourning" (*Dies ista, dies iræ*), cried the imperial advocate, Thaddeus of Suessa, as the Pope and the assembled prelates reversed and extinguished the lighted candles they held, and declared Frederick excommunicate. "What audacity," said the Emperor, when the news was brought to him, and placing his crown on his head, he added, "I have not yet lost my crown, nor will I lose it without a bloody struggle." Once more Pope and Emperor appealed to Europe. Frederick denied the papal right of imperial deposition, Innocent insisted on the elective character of the Empire and on the Pope's power to bestow the temporal sword on the Emperor, which carried with it the power of deprivation. The attempt of St Louis to act as mediator proved a failure, and the last fight began. In Germany the young king

Council of Lyons, 1245

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Conrad IV., aided by the Archbishop of Mainz, had held his own in spite of papal intrigues and the terrible raids of the Tartars upon the eastern frontier (see p. 252). In Italy, Frederick's illegitimate son Enzio had been married to a great Sardinian heiress, and was governing Italy as his father's vicegerent, with the title of "King of Sardinia." The papalists now elected an anti-king in Germany, Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death in 1247 they replaced him by William of Holland. A regular crusade was preached against the Emperor, and the Mendicant Friars actively supported the Pope. In Italy a conspiracy gave the papalists the Ghibeline city of Parma, the key of the road to Rome, and when Frederick blockaded it, the besieged, by a daring sally, set fire to the town of "Vittoria," which he had built outside the walls, seized his treasure, and forced him to retreat. This repulse was the turning-point of Frederick's fortunes, the first of a succession of reverses. His trusted counsellor, Peter de la Vigne, who "held the two keys of the Emperor's heart," was accused of treason, disgraced and blinded, and, in despair, committed suicide. His favourite son, the young and gallant Enzio, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and condemned to lifelong captivity. But the imperialists continued to hold out bravely in northern and central Italy, and Frederick himself, in his southern kingdom, gathered his Saracen troops about him, and was preparing for a final attack on the States of the Church and Lombardy, when death cut short his hopes and plans. He died on December 13th, 1250, at his castle of Fiorentino, near Lucera, guarded by Saracens, and tended by his illegitimate son Manfred and by the Archbishop of Palermo. Thus "he whom men could not overcome was conquered by the divine power."

The Tartars

The anti-kings, Henry Raspe and William of Holland

Death and character of Frederick II., 1250.

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"At this time," wrote the English chronicler Matthew Paris, "died the greatest of the princes of the world, Frederick, the Wonder of the World (*stupor mundi*), the marvellous revolutionist (*immutator*), absolved from the sentence which bound him, in the habit, it is said, of the Cistercians, and full of contrition and humiliation." The papal historian, on the contrary, describes him as dying excommunicated and deposed, gnashing his teeth and foaming at the mouth, with loud crying and groaning. He was buried in a splendid tomb by the side of his parents, in the cathedral of Palermo, the capital of his beloved Sicily.

The phrase *Stupor Mundi*, the "Wonder of the World," well expresses the feeling of the contemporaries of Frederick II. towards the great Emperor. Otto III. had been a world-wonder, too (*mirabilia mundi*, see p. 19), a marvel of precocious talent, but the genius of Frederick II. inspired terror and awe. Men stood amazed and stupefied before him, and regarded him as something portentous and almost superhuman. To the papalists he was an atheist, a monster of iniquity, Antichrist himself. He was accused of denying the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, of rejecting the mystery of the Incarnation, and of believing only what could be proved by physical science and natural reason. He was said to have declared that the world had been deceived by three impostors — Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. In later days Dante, in the *Divinia Commedia*, placed him in hell among the misbelievers. Yet even his enemies admitted his extraordinary ability. The Franciscan, Fra Salimbene, wrote that if he had been a true Catholic, and had loved God and the Church, few Emperors would have been his equals. His followers

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seem to have looked on him as a kind of Messiah, a mystic incarnation of divine power. They compared him to Christ, and punned on the name of his minister, Peter de la Vigne, the "corner-stone," the "fruitful vine," the Peter who would not betray his Master. He himself spoke of his mother as "holy," and called his birth-place "Bethlehem," and he was hailed as "Sanctus Fridericus." How far these claims were serious, how far they represent mere extravagant adulation, is doubtful. Frederick posed deliberately as the successor of the ancient Roman Emperors, the heir of all their rights and dignities, but he always professed his loyalty to the Church which had excommunicated him, though he advocated ecclesiastical reforms, and, in particular, a return to apostolic poverty. "The primitive Church," he said, "was based on poverty and simplicity." If his tolerance of Jews and Mohammedans, his rationalism and love of scientific study were enough to condemn him in the eyes of the orthodox, the visionary poetic strain in his character, and his daring intellectual originality fascinated the imagination of the dreamer and the fanatic. Men were loth to believe that he was really dead. The prophecies of the Abbot Joachim were applied to him (see p. 234), and it was believed that he would come again, whether for evil or for good, as Antichrist, or as the defender of the Church and the saviour of Germany. He was more than once personated by impostors, and, in the fifteenth century, legend told how he waited, hidden in a Thuringian mountain, for the day of the deliverance of Germany (see p. 170).

The Legend of Frederick II.

Modern historians differ in their judgments of Frederick II. almost as much as the men of his own time. To some he seems a sort of Protestant reformer, like Henry VIII. of England, subordinating the Church to the State.

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Others see in him a precursor of the sceptical, cultivated, autocratic princes of the Renaissance; others, again, an oriental despot, a kind of Caliph, or Pope-Emperor, supreme over both Church and State. But on one point all are agreed. He "whose heart beat only to be lord and sovereign of the whole world" was the last of the great mediæval Emperors, and with him closed the most heroic and most characteristic period of the Middle Ages.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE COMING OF THE FRIARS

THE religious revival of the eleventh century resulted in the triumph of Cluniac reforms and Hildebrandine political theories. The religious revival of the twelfth century resulted in the foundation of the Cistercian Order. Its leading spirit was St Bernard, the guide and counsellor of the Papacy, himself more powerful than any Pope. As the renown of Cluny paled before that of Cîteaux, so in the thirteenth century a new religious revival embodied a new conception of monasticism in the two great Orders of Mendicant Friars, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The older monastic Orders had met the most pressing social needs of their time. They had softened the rudeness of secular life, and had reclaimed and cultivated the waste places of the earth. But they had failed to advance with the times. It was reserved for the Friars to appreciate and direct the new tendencies of the thirteenth century, when Western society was threatened by subtle and peculiar dangers. The first throes of the dissolution of the old order had been felt. The stable aristocratic feudal system was becoming too narrow a frame for the rapidly developing popular spirit. Land and landholders lost their exclusive importance as commerce grew and towns gained weight and influence. There was a spirit of political discontent abroad, and with it went a spirit of religious and intellectual unrest. The

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Crusades had done much both to extend the commercial sphere and to widen the mental horizon. Contact with Oriental modes of thought stimulated intellectual curiosity in the West, fostered imagination, and led to the formation of broader and more sympathetic views of life and humanity. These new ideals, this spiritual stir and ferment in western Christendom, found expression in heresies, such as that of the Albigenses, or in the assertions of municipal liberty which threatened the supremacy of the feudal aristocracy, or again, in the daring philosophical speculations which were current in the Universities. The early monks had been charitable, orthodox, and dogmatic: reformers, though Conservative reformers. The new religious teachers, if they were to succeed, would have to be something of popular revolutionaries, to add to charity enthusiasm, to orthodoxy and dogmatism, fervour, devotion, eloquence and controversial zeal. It was the great merit of the Friars that they recognized the needs of their age. St Dominic, a Spaniard, founded a preaching Order, which should meet heretics and the enemies of Catholicism on their own ground, and give believers a reason for their faith. St Francis, an Italian, sought to humanize the Church, and to restore Christianity to its primitive simplicity and unity by the pure force of love. The Dominicans persuaded the reason, the Franciscans touched the heart. St Dominic was the "Hammer of the heretics," St Francis was the "Father of the poor." Dominic Guzman of Osma in Castile, a Canon Regular, first made his mark as a missionary to the Albigensian heretics of Southern France. "Zeal," he taught, "must be met by zeal, preaching falsehood by preaching truth." In 1215 Innocent III. approved his plan of founding a preaching Order. In 1216 Honorius III. confirmed the Order of Friars Preachers

St Dominic

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(*Fratres Prædicatores*) or Black Friars. The Dominicans at first adopted a modification of the rule of the Austin Canons, but they afterwards borrowed the doctrine of mendicant poverty from the Franciscans. Like the Franciscans, too, they had an Order for women and a "Third Order" for lay brethren. When St Dominic died in 1221 more than sixty houses of Friars Preachers had been established in Europe.

St Francis of Assisi

While St Dominic was labouring among the heretics of Southern France, St Francis was beginning his work of love in Italy. Francis, son of Peter Bernardone, a wealthy merchant, was born in 1182 in the little Umbrian town of Assisi. Inspired by an irresistible passion of spiritual devotion and pity for humanity, he renounced his family and friends, stripped himself of all worldly possessions, and went forth as a barefooted beggar to minister to the poor. He chose "Lady Poverty" for his bride, and his first simple rule began with the words, "If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." His sweet temper, his merry humour, his intensity of conviction, and his sensitive poetic nature, gave him extraordinary power over his contemporaries, and he soon found followers. The Order of the Friars Minor, Minorites, Grey Friars, Franciscans or Poor Men of Assisi was sanctioned by the Pope in 1210, received a more elaborate rule in 1221, and was fully organized in 1223. The Order of the "Poor Clares" for women was the outcome of the conversion of St Clara of Assisi, the friend and disciple of St Francis, and the "Third Order" was founded for laymen who wished to follow the Franciscan teaching without entirely separating themselves from the world. St Francis himself lived in a happy communion with God and nature, a rapture of love, which lifted him

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above hardship and suffering. Men and women, animals and birds, trees and flowers, were alike his friends. He preached a sermon to birds, and begged his "little sister," the mountain stream, not to disturb his prayers by her babbling. He wrote a hymn in Italian to praise God for his brothers the sun, the wind, and the fire, and his sisters the moon, the water, and the earth; and when he was told that he had but a short time to live he exclaimed, "Welcome, Sister Death!" To him the highest grace was self-conquest, and the will to suffer for the love of Christ, and he spent himself in tending the poor and the sick, or in such ecstatic meditation on the Passion of Christ that he apparently produced in his own body the marks of the Crucifixion, the "stigmata," in hands and feet and side. He died in 1226 in his little cell at the foot of the hill on which Assisi is built. He was canonized in 1228, and Pope Gregory IX. laid the foundation-stone of the splendid church of San Francesco which rose over his remains, a strange resting-place for the "*Poverello*," the "Little Poor One" of Assisi.

A beautiful bas-relief in Florence commemorates the meeting of St Francis and St Dominic, and Dante places them together in heaven, "for their deeds were to one end." The two great founders of the Mendicant Orders were, in truth, both working for the purification of the Church and the reform of society. Dominicans and Franciscans were alike grouped in congregations under local heads or provincials, with a superior general over all, but within these limits they enjoyed great freedom. Unlike the cloistered monks, they were "itinerant," wandering from place to place, and preaching as they went. They were "mendicants," too, vowed to absolute poverty, begging their bread from door to door, and

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wearing the dress of the poorest of the people. In the flexibility of their organization, and in the popularity of their attitude, lay their strength. Unfettered by class privileges or ties of property, they brought the ideal of humility, poverty, and self-sacrifice into the daily life of court and castle, lonely farm and outlying hamlet, crowded street and busy workshop. Their mission was specially to the towns, the new centres of intellectual and social activity; but whereas the Black Friars appealed chiefly to the educated classes, the Grey Friars ministered to the inhabitants of the "slums."

The Dominicans were, from the first, the representatives of reason and science within the Church, the "watch-dogs of the Lord" (*Domini canes*), the protectors of the true flock against heretic wolves. They won a commanding theological position in the University of Paris, and gave to the world one of the most influential of mediæval thinkers, St Thomas Aquinas, while as the directors, officials and promoters of the Inquisition they waged unremitting war against scepticism and incredulity. The Franciscans were, primarily, social reformers, renouncing human learning with all other worldly cares. Yet they, too, were soon drawn into the current of intellectual life. They became celebrated as teachers, and obtained on the University of Oxford almost as great a hold as the Dominicans on the University of Paris. Constant observation of the diseases of the poor led them to the study of medicine and physical science, and in later days the scientific fame of the English friar, Roger Bacon, won him the reputation of a wizard. In politics the friars of both Orders played no unimportant part. They, in the thirteenth century, were the "free lances" of the papal army, preachers of crusades, collec-

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tors of money for the Pope's wars against the Emperor, diplomatic emissaries, sellers of indulgences, papal missionaries to distant lands. They intervened in national affairs, and acted as negotiators and peacemakers, and as the confessors and advisers of kings and queens. In the war between Henry III. of England and his barons, the Franciscans were on the constitutional side, while the Dominicans tended to support the king. With this growing secular activity and the vast extension of the Mendicant Orders went a corresponding spiritual deterioration. The old ideal of poverty was forgotten, as the friars became wealthy and self-indulgent. Disputes arose between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and dissension and schism within the Franciscan Order itself. The "Spirituals" or brethren of the "Strict Observance" under St Anthony of Padua maintained the doctrine of St Francis in its purity, while the "Conventuals," led by Elias of Cortona, the General of the Order, relaxed the severity of the early rule. The new Mendicant Orders of the Carmelites or White Friars and the Austin Friars were founded in imitation of the original societies, but by the end of the thirteenth century the religious revival which had produced such wonderful results had spent its force, and the exalted mysticism of the first friars had degenerated into extravagance and superstition. On the one hand, the common people were agitated by outbursts of fanatical emotion, on the other, the strongholds of learning were shaken by intellectual sedition. During the captivity of St Louis in Egypt, France and Flanders were overrun by the *Pastoureaux*, or Shepherds, bands of peasants led by a zealot called the "Master of Hungary," who declared that they had a mission to rescue the king from the Mohammedans,

The "Spirituals" and "Conventuals"

The Carmelites and Austin Friars

The Pastoureaux

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and denounced the worldliness of clergy, monks and friars. Later in the century was seen the still stranger phenomenon of the "Flagellants," men, women and children, marching in penitential procession, scourging one another as they went, to the sound of doleful chants. Amongst the more educated classes fanaticism took the form of prophecy and allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Even before the institution of the Mendicant Orders the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore had taught the doctrine of the Eternal Gospel, whereby the world had to go through three stages, corresponding to the Persons of the Trinity. The age of the Father had passed, the age of the Son was drawing to a close, the age of the Holy Ghost was at hand, when the poor and humble would be exalted, and the tyrants would be cast down. These visionary speculations were further elaborated in the middle of the thirteenth century by a Franciscan friar, in the "Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel." The secular clerks of the University of Paris, at feud with the Mendicants, called attention to the dangerous character of the "Joachite" opinions in this book, and procured its condemnation. The friars retaliated by attacking the "Perils of the Last Days," a scathing criticism of the Mendicant Orders, the work of William de St Amour, the spokesman of the secular party. Louis IX. supported them, and the Pope, Alexander IV., always a friend to friars, had William de St Amour tried before a Roman tribunal. Though his writings were pronounced scandalous but not heretical, he was suspended from teaching, and banished from France.

The Flagellants

The Abbot Joachim

The "Perils of the Last Days"

The Mediæval University System

In this struggle between the regular and secular clergy, the University of Paris appears as a powerful, well-organized body. It had reached this position by a long

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process of gradual development and continuous effort. A mediæval writer has described the three mysterious powers or virtues by whose harmonious co-operation the life and health of Christendom are sustained: *Sacerdotium*, or the Papacy; *Imperium*, or the Empire; and *Studium*, or the Universities. These represent the three great forces of Ecclesiasticism, Imperialism and Scholasticism or Learning, by which the visible Church of God is built up. To the Italians belongs the Papacy, to the Germans the Empire, and to the French "Study" or Learning, with its seat at Paris. The mediæval University system was the direct outgrowth of the twelfth century Renaissance, which created a demand for tuition, and met that demand by a supply of teachers, and of the instinct of association which led students and teachers to organize themselves in groups for purposes of self-defence and the protection of professional interests. Such organization was first found at the two central points of the revival of learning—Bologna, the centre for the study of law, and Paris, the theological centre. At Bologna the students, at Paris the masters, formed what may be called scholastic guilds or trade-unions, and the germ of the Paris University was this guild of masters. Crowds of students had been drawn to Paris in the twelfth century by the fame of Abélard's teaching: their presence rendered necessary an increase of masters. The Chancellor of Notre Dame, to whom the superintendence of the Cathedral schools was entrusted, began to grant formal permission to other masters to open schools. This *licentia docendi*, or licence to teach, at first a matter of favour, became a matter of right, and could not be denied to a properly qualified applicant. Teachers multipled rapidly, and their unwritten laws and professional customs

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crystallized into the Statutes of an organized University. The birth of the University of Paris may be placed between 1150 and 1170, but the society had no written Statutes till about 1209, and no head or presiding officer till much later. The University, in fact, grew into a legal, self-acting, self-governing corporation through the great struggle on which it entered in the thirteenth century with the Chancellor of Notre Dame, who claimed jurisdiction over the scholars as clerks. In this struggle the Chancellor, backed by the Bishop and Chapter, would possibly have been victorious, had not the Papacy supported the University. As it was, the Church party was defeated, and the Chancellor lost his judicial power. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Church made a second attempt to seize on the citadel of learning through the Mendicant Friars, and this time it succeeded, for the Papacy threw its weight on the side of its faithful "free lances," the Friars, and St Louis also sided with them. It is to this period that the incident of St Amour's resistance and defeat belongs. The city of Paris supported the seculars, as is shown by the bitter satires on the Mendicants of the Parisian *trouvère* Ruteboeuf. The triumph of the Friars and their establishment as theological teachers within the University was doubtless furthered by the great fame of two of their number, the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas, in particular, holds a unique position in the history of mediæval thought, for he effected a lasting reconciliation between philosophy and theology. By the beginning of the thirteenth century almost all the works of Aristotle had found their way into the western world. Some were directly translated from the Greek, others from Syriac or Arabic. Hence a new intellectual

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element was introduced into the schools of the West, for the "New Aristotle," the "Bible of the Schoolmen," came to Paris from Moorish Spain, in an oriental dress, and accompanied by the writings and commentaries of Arabic philosophers and men of science. The orthodox authorities tried at first to prohibit the study of Aristotle altogether, but a more effectual remedy was supplied by the development of a system of orthodox Aristotelianism, and this was supplied by the friars, the Franciscan Alexander of Hales and the Dominicans, the German Albert the Great, and the Italian St Thomas of Aquino.

Paris

The University of Paris, when fully developed, was a sort of federation. It included four faculties: three superior faculties, Theology, Canon Law, and Medicine, each under a dean, and one inferior faculty, Arts, divided into the four nations, French, Normans, Picards, and English, each under a proctor. At the head of all was a Rector, who was elected by the Faculty of Arts. The University of Oxford, and all the Student Universities, were organized on much the same lines as Paris. Bologna was a Masters' University, and formed a model for all other Universities of the same kind. The course of mediæval study was based, in the Faculty of Arts, on the Seven Liberal Arts, the Trivium, or "threefold way," of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, and the Quadrivium, or "fourfold way," of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. Comparatively little was known of these last four subjects. The real heart and centre of mediæval education lay in the Trivium, and more particularly in Logic or Dialectic, which, dull and dry as it may seem to modern minds, did at least train students in precision, accuracy, and the right rules of reasoning, and led them on to metaphysical speculations and philosophical disputations.

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Bologna

The University of Bologna gradually developed out of the law-school, which first rose into prominence with the revived interest in the Roman Civil Law, which was a marked feature of the twelfth-century Renaissance. The teaching of the great jurist Irnerius made Bologna famous, and Frederick Barbarossa patronized the Bolognese doctors of law, and granted a privilege to the School. From Bologna, too, came the monk Gratian, who, in the middle of the twelfth century, drew up the *Decretum* or *Concordantia discordantium canonum*, the most celebrated text-book of mediæval Canon Law. The Canon Law became to the Papacy what the Civil Law was to the Empire. If the Emperors based their claims to temporal supremacy on the imperial law of Rome, the Popes supported the theory of the supremacy of the Church by the decrees and letters of their predecessors, and the canons of ecclesiastical Councils. Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV. were all trained canonists, and Gregory IX. even added a new collection of papal decretals to the existing body of Canon Law.

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CHAPTER XVII

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE history of Christian Spain has been described as one long crusade against the African Moors or Arabs who, in the eighth century, supplanted the ancient Visigothic kings, and established an Ommeyad caliphate at Cordova. It would be equally true to speak of it as one long process of political consolidation, the gathering up of the many petty Iberian States into a strong united Spanish kingdom. It is a history of civil war and religious persecution, of intrigue and bloodshed, of battles and revolutions. Yet there is grandeur in the contrast between the Christian chivalry of the north and the splendid Mohammedan civilization of the south, and there is a special interest in the record of that struggle of races, creeds, and political systems which produced the Spain of the sixteenth century. In the early tenth century the Iberian peninsula was divided among the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, the counties of Barcelona and Castile and the Moorish caliphate. These were the elements out of which the four kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Leon, and Portugal were to be formed. The tenth century saw a succession of great rulers at Cordova, the caliph Abd-er-Rahman III., a beneficent despot and an enlightened ruler, his son Hakam II., a patron of learning and culture, and the able soldier Almansor-al-Allah, "the Victor of God," who reduced the young

The Caliphs of Cordova

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caliph Hishem II. to a puppet, and in his name overran the kingdom of Leon and took its capital by storm; while the Christian princes wasted their strength in internal dissension. But the death of Almansor in 1002 was followed by the decline of the Mohammedan power. The caliphate became the prey of contending factions until, in 1031, on the death of the last caliph of the old line, it broke up into a number of small kingdoms or emirates. The disruption of the Mohammedan State left the field open to the Christians, and Navarre rose into prominence under Sancho the Great, who extended his rule over Castile, Aragon, and Leon. After his death, in 1035, the supremacy passed to Castile, now a kingdom under Ferdinand I., son of Sancho of Navarre. Ferdinand subdued Leon, and handed on to his son, Alfonso VI., the task of unification. In 1085 Alphonso took advantage of the weakness of the Mohammedans to conquer Toledo, the capital of the old Gothic kings, commanding the valley of the Tagus. His daughter married the king of the new state of Aragon, and the union of Spain seemed about to be effected, when the Moors called to their help the fanatical Almoravides from Africa, the fierce Berber tribes who had recently conquered Morocco. At the battle of Zalaca, in 1086, the Castilians were completely defeated, the army was almost wiped out, and Alfonso fled to Toledo with a mere handful of followers. To this period belongs the legend of the Spanish national hero, the Cid Campeador, or "Lord Challenger," Roderic or Ruy Diaz de Bivar. In real history he appears as a swashbuckler and soldier of fortune, "fighting to eat," brave and capable, yet arrogant and avaricious, and willing to do battle in any cause for pay. He was banished from Castile, served with the Mohammedans

Sancho the Great, 970-1035

Ferdinand I. of Castile, 1033-1065

Alfonso VI., 1073-1109

The Almoravides

The Cid Campeador

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against the Christians, and finally, in 1094, conquered Valencia from the Moors, and ruled there as a practically independent sovereign till his death in 1099. Such was the man who has become the centre of a cycle of heroic and romantic legends, and has been glorified as the champion of Spanish Christianity and the model of a chivalrous knight.

At the close of the eleventh century the Almoravides, under their great leader Yusuf, subdued the degenerate Spanish Mohammedans, and made Moorish Spain a province of the Empire of Morocco. The only son of Alfonso VI. fell fighting against the invaders, and when Alfonso himself died in 1109 Aragon became the predominant Christian power, under the warlike Alfonso I., the "Fighter." Throughout the twelfth century the war of Christians and Moors in Spain bore the character of a regular Crusade. The Empire of the Almoravides was threatened by the rise of a new sect of stern Berber reformers, the Almohades, and its embarassment gave an opportunity to the Christians which they eagerly seized. Crusaders from France, England and Italy, Templars and Hospitallers, flocked to the help of the King of Aragon, and, when Alfonso the Fighter was killed in 1134, the struggle was continued under the King of Castile, Alfonso VII. In 1147 a fleet of English, German and Flemish Crusaders saved Lisbon for the King of Portugal, and later in the century the Spanish Military Orders of Calatrava, Alcantara and Santiago, with the Portuguese Order of Evorá, were founded, in imitation of the Templars and Hospitallers, to carry on the Holy War. So great was the power of Alfonso VII. that he formally assumed the title of Emperor, but the supremacy of Castile ended with his death and the death of

Alfonso I. of Aragon, the "Fighter," 1104-1134

Rise of the Almohades

Alfonso VII. of Castile, the "Emperor," 1126-1157

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Alfonso VIII. of Castile, 1158-1214

his son and the accession of the child-king Alfonso VIII. in 1158.

In the West the great victory over the Moors at Ourique in 1139 had enabled Alfonso of Portugal to transform his county into a hereditary monarchy. Aragon broke away from Castile and formed a close union with Catalonia, and even Leon was separated from Castile on the death of Alfonso VII. Dynastic quarrels and civil war weakened the Christian states, while the Almohades, who had supplanted the Almoravides in Morocco, established a strong Moorish government in southern Spain, and in 1195 inflicted a severe defeat on the Castilians at Alarcos. Seventeen years later, in 1212, the Christians took their revenge when, in the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the allied forces of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, strengthened by large contingents of foreign Crusaders and by the Military Orders, crushed the power of the Moors, destroyed the prestige of the Almohades, and ended for ever the Moorish domination in Spain.

Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, June 28, 1212

The history of Spain in the thirteenth century may be grouped round the figures of three great kings, James I. of Aragon, and Ferdinand I. and Alfonso X. of Castile.

James I. of Aragon, the "Conqueror," 1213-1276

James I., the "Conqueror," the son of the King of Aragon who fell in the battle of Muret (see p. 197), was a fine soldier, who extended the boundaries of Aragon and subdued Valencia and the Balearic Isles, a legislator and an administrator. He prepared the way for the future connexion between Aragon and Sicily by the marriage of his son to the daughter of Manfred of Hohenstaufen. He was a patron of commerce and a man of letters, who wrote a history of his own conquests in the Catalan tongue. Yet the aristocracy of Aragon was too strong

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for him to build up a highly centralized monarchy, and he had to submit to constitutional checks on his power. These were imposed by the *Justicia*, or supreme judge, who was appointed to arbitrate between the king and his subjects and to protect the national liberties, by the *Cortes*, or States General, in which the towns were represented, and by the leagues (*hermandades*) of the towns among themselves.

Ferdinand I. of Castile, the "Saint," 1214-1252

Ferdinand I., the "Saint," who inherited Leon from his father and Castile from his mother, conquered Cordova and extended the Christian rule over the whole of Spain, with the exception of the little kingdom of Granada. He consolidated Leon and Castile, and began that revision of the existing law which led, under Alfonso X., to the issue of one of the most famous legal codes in the world, the *Siete Partidas*, or "Seven Parts." Alfonso X., the "Wise," the son of St Ferdinand, the rival of Richard of Cornwall in the contest for the imperial crown (see p. 248), was remarkable even in an age of great rulers. Learned and scientific, an astronomer and a philosopher, he encouraged men of parts and ability without distinction of creed or race. Though the Castilians had more respect for royalty, and were less independent than the Aragonese and Catalans, here, as in Aragon, the king found himself compelled to summon the *Cortes*, to consult the nobles, and to grant privileges to the towns. By 1273 the *reconquista* or reconquest of Spain was at an end, but the long war against the infidel had created a new Spain, orthodox, aristocratic and ambitious, and while Navarre turned more and more towards France, Castile, Aragon and Portugal threw themselves as independent powers into the vortex of international politics.

Alfonso X. of Castile, the "Wise," 1252-1284

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SPAIN & PORTUGAL XI-XIII CENTURY.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN AND THE GREAT INTERREGNUM [1250-1273]

A PROPHECY was current in the thirteenth century that the Empire would end with Frederick II. It was a truer saying than the men who repeated it knew. The dreams of Otto III., the ambitions of Frederick Barbarossa, the splendid visions of Henry VI., were all buried in the grave of the "Wonder of the World." When, after twenty-three years of anarchy, the Empire was reconstituted under the Habsburg dynasty, its great days were over, its commanding position was lost, and there only remained to it a future of lingering and ignoble decay.

The history of the final fall of the Hohenstaufen is soon told. Pope Innocent IV. had vowed never to make peace with Frederick II. and his "viper brood," and he kept his word. Though, when he came down in triumph into Italy after Frederick's death, he found himself almost a prisoner in Rome, under the domination of the powerful Senator Brancaleone, he never ceased to plot against the Hohenstaufen. He offered the crown of Sicily in succession to Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX. of France; to Richard of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III. of England; and to Edmund of Lancaster, the younger son of Henry III., a boy of eight years old. Frederick II. had bequeathed the imperial and Sicilian

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Conrad IV., 1250-1254

crowns to his eldest legitimate son, Conrad IV., and had appointed his illegitimate son, Manfred, Prince of Tarentum, viceroy of the kingdom of Sicily in Conrad's absence. In 1251 Conrad IV. entered Italy, and made himself master of Apulia. He was planning an advance on Lombardy when, in May 1254, a sudden fever cut him off in the flower of his youth. His half-brother Henry had died in the previous year, and only the little Conradin, Conrad's two-year-old son, was left to carry on the legitimate line of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Still, the cause of the Ghibelines was not hopeless while Manfred of Tarentum remained. Brave, accomplished and talented, he resembled his father in person and in character, and seemed born to be a king.

Conradin, 1254.1268

Manfred of Tarentum

Death of Innocent IV., 1254.

The death of Innocent IV. in the winter of 1254, and the accession of the more peaceable Alexander IV., further raised the hopes of the imperialists, while in 1256 the "anti-Cæsar," William of Holland, was killed, and the "Great Interregnum" began in Germany. In Italy Manfred ignored the claims of his little nephew, and ruled the Sicilian kingdom as an independent sovereign, bidding defiance to the papal excommunication which was hurled against him. He found partisans in Central and Northern Italy, and the Ghibeline victory of Monteaperto in 1260 gave the important city of Florence to the imperialists, while the Ghibelines of Rome proclaimed Manfred Senator, in opposition to Richard of Cornwall, the Guelf candidate. Even the fall of Frederick II.'s son-in-law, the cruel tyrant of Verona, Ezzelino da Romano, who died, defeated by the Guelfs, in 1259, rather strengthened Manfred's position, by freeing him from a dangerous ally and possible rival. In 1261, however, Alexander IV. was succeeded by Urban IV., a French-

The "Great Interregnum," 1256-1273

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man, who called his countrymen to his aid, and offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. The Guelf party in Rome chose Charles Senator, a Crusade was preached against Manfred and his Saracen troops, and though Urban IV. died in 1264, his successor, Clement IV., continued his policy. In 1265 Charles of Anjou entered Rome. In 1266 he was crowned King of Sicily in St Peter's, and a few weeks later he completely defeated the Sicilian army on the plain of Grandella, near Benevento. "Where are my Ghibelines?" cried Manfred, when he saw the splendid Tuscan cavalry arrayed against his Germans and Saracens. When he realized that the day was lost, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell on the field of battle.

Intervention of Charles of Anjou

Battle of Grandella or Benevento, Feb. 26, 1266

Crushed under the yoke of the stern Charles of Anjou, the Sicilians bitterly deplored the young king whom in life they had not appreciated, and they and the Ghibeline cities of Tuscany and Lombardy sent envoys to Germany to "rouse the half-fledged eaglet" Conradin, now a high-spirited boy of fourteen. Fired with the hope of winning back the heritage of his fathers, Conradin led an army over the Brenner Pass into Italy, and entered Pavia, the old Ghibeline capital, early in 1268. The Pope denounced the "poisonous little king (*regulus*)" of the "viper-brood," and thundered excommunications against his followers. But Pisa gave him a fleet, Siena supported him, and Rome received him with acclamation. Clement IV. looked on unmoved. "This expedition will pass like smoke," he said; "let the lamb be led to the slaughter." The end was, indeed, at hand. Conradin advanced from Rome upon Apulia. At Tagliacozzo, on the borders of the southern kingdom, Charles of Anjou gave him battle,

Battle of Tagliacozzo, Aug. 23, 1268

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and inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Ghibeline forces. Conradin, flying from the field, was taken prisoner, and after a short captivity, was beheaded at Naples on October 29, 1268. Italian and Provençal poets sang of the piteous death of the young "Corradino," while Germany mourned for the last of the Hohenstaufen.

Execution of Conradin, Oct. 29, 1268

Death of Clement IV., 1268

A month later Clement IV. died, and the Papacy remained vacant for more than two years. In the south, Charles of Anjou, elected Senator of Rome for life, and ruthless in his victory, governed the hapless Sicilians in so tyrannical and despotic a fashion that it ultimately lost him the kingdom. Northern Italy, meanwhile, fell back into civil war, and the strife of city against city, of Guelf against Ghibeline, raged more fiercely than ever, so that Dante, the great Italian poet of the fourteenth century, could only compare his country to a ship without a pilot, drifting in the storm.

Double election of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X. of Castile

Nor was Germany in much better case. The death of William of Holland in 1256 was followed by a double imperial election. Of the seven great magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, who now alone acted as electors, four chose the papal candidate, Richard of Cornwall, and three voted for Alfonso X. of Castile. Alfonso never set foot in Germany. Richard was crowned at Aachen, but he did not receive the imperial crown at Rome, and in 1272 he died, after playing a somewhat ignominious part in the war in England between Henry III. and his barons. Germany was now a prey to all the horrors of feudal anarchy. The princes, the lesser nobles and the prelates fought and struggled for wealth and power, and the people were helpless before them. The one gleam of hope was to be found in the cities, which, united in defensive leagues, grew strong, free and independent amidst

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the general confusion. At length Pope Gregory X., the successor of Clement IV., threatened that if the Electors did not end the Interregnum he would choose an Emperor on his own responsibility. This moved them to action, and in 1273 they met at Frankfurt and elected Count Rudolf of Habsburg, the founder of the great Austrian dynasty. With his accession began a new era in the history of the Empire.

Election of Rudolf of Habsburg, 1273

Authorities

As for Chapter XV

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THE EMPIRE in 1273

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CONCLUSION

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

State of Europe in 1273

THE three centuries and a half which lay between 919 and 1273 saw many changes in Western Europe. The attempt to realize the imperial idea of a World-State, and the attempt to establish a kingdom of God upon earth in a World-Church had alike failed, and the great Popes and Emperors had given place to lesser men. The monastic Orders had lost their early fervour, the religious enthusiasm which had inspired the First Crusade had been diverted to worldly ends, the feudal bonds of vassalage and land tenure were weakening; all the most distinctively mediæval institutions were in process of transformation. Yet the Middle Ages were the link between the ancient and the modern world, the dark rich soil into which fell the ripe fruits of classic antiquity, there to quicken into new forms of life. Under the shadow of Empire and Papacy the nation states of Europe were developing. France, in 919 a loose federation of provinces, with a shadowy claim to an imperial mission, was by 1273 a strong centralized monarchy with a splendid future before it. England had entered into the company of Western nations as one of the great Continental powers. Spain, Italy, Germany were, each in its own way, working out their national destinies and finding expression for a growing national feeling in vernacular language and patriotic literature.

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In the far north, Denmark, Norway and Sweden had become Christian kingdoms. On the eastern frontier of Germany the Slav monarchies of Bohemia and Poland and the Magyar sovereigns of Hungary were interposed between the advancing tide of Teutonic colonization and the vast incalculable forces of Russia and the "near East." Bohemia, in particular, under its "iron King" Ottokar II., absorbed Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and extended its frontier to the Adriatic. Meanwhile the Eastern Empire was slowly tottering to its fall, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was a scene of anarchy. Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese and Pisans, wrangled and fought and disputed over their rights, while after the death of Conradin, the last direct descendant of Yolande (see p. 216), the Lusignans of Cyprus claimed the crown. The Turks would doubtless have brought the feeble kingdom to a speedy end had not the invasion of the Tartars occupied their whole attention.

The Tartars or Mongols

In the early thirteenth century the Tartars or Mongols, a race akin to the Turks, had built up a great Empire in China and Persia under the "Inflexible Emperor," Genghiz Khan, and his successors. In 1224 the Tartars invaded Europe and defeated the Russians. All through the first half of the thirteenth century they were the scourge and terror of Eastern Christendom. The days of the Magyar raids seemed to have returned. Bulgaria and Russia, Poland and Hungary were devastated, the settlement of the "Golden Horde" in the valley of the Volga was effected, and for several centuries Russia bowed beneath the Mongol yoke. In 1258 the Tartars took Bagdad, and the orthodox caliphate came to an end. In 1259 they invaded Syria and captured Aleppo and

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Damascus. The Pope and Louis IX. of France, hoping to find a new ally against the Turks, entered into negotiations with them, but in 1260 the Sultan Kutuz won a great victory over them at Ain Talut, a battle which sealed the fate of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. When, a few weeks later, the Sultan was murdered by his Mamelukes, their leader, Bibars Bendocdar, the "Panther," became ruler of Egypt and began the deliberate piecemeal conquest of the Christian states of Syria, which ended with the fall of Acre in 1291. The last outposts of Latin Christianity in the far East were thus lost, and the last checks on the power of the Turks were removed. The extinction of the typically mediæval feudal kingdom of Jerusalem is a fit close for the history of the Central Period of the Middle Ages.

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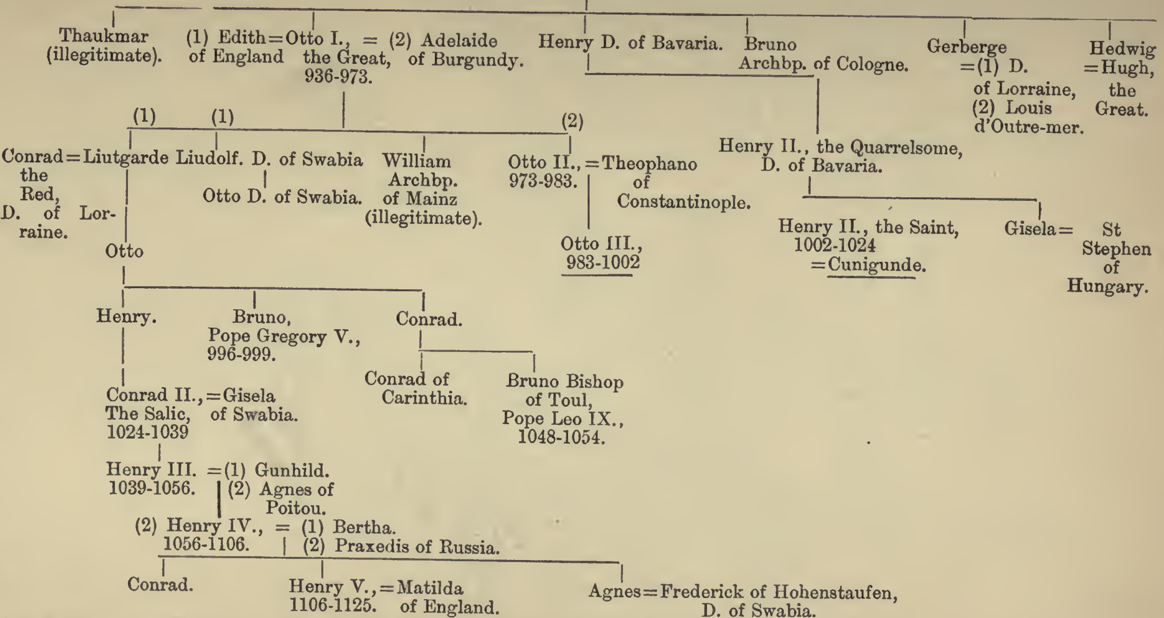

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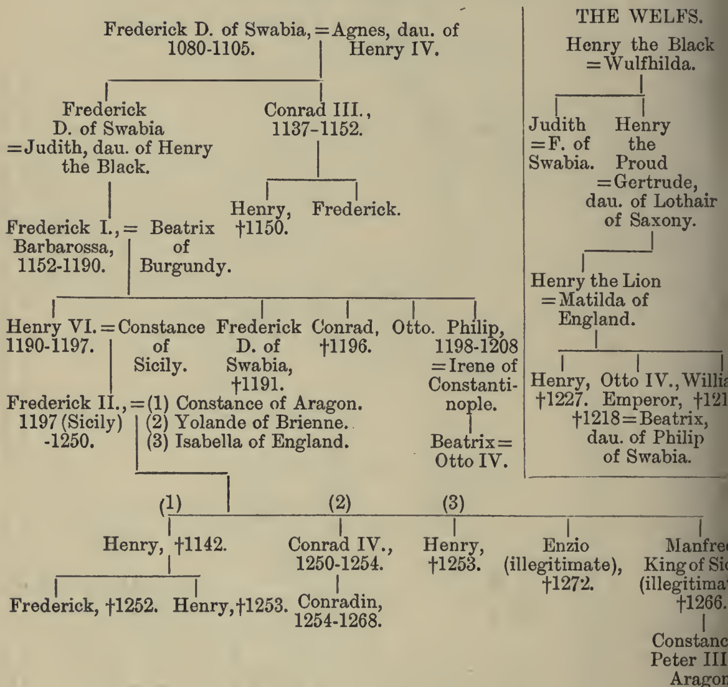
II. THE HOHENSTAUFEN



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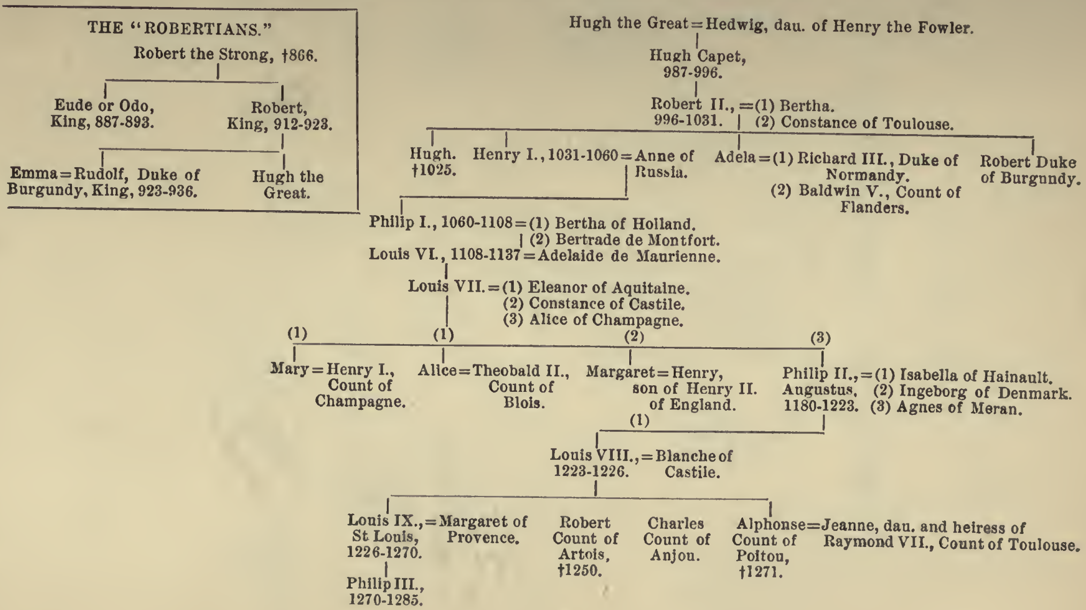
III. THE CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE



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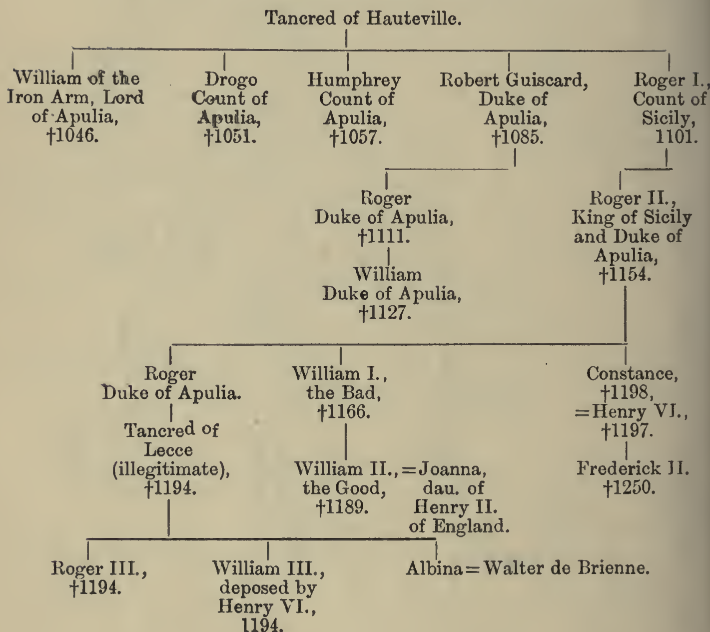
IV. THE NORMAN KINGS OF SICILY



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V. THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM

(i) Godfrey the Bearded,
Duke of Lower Lorraine,
†1069.

Matilda Countess of Tuscany. = Godfrey the Hunchback, †1076.

Ida = Eustace II. of Boulogne.

Godfrey de Bouillon, King, 1099-1100.

Baldwin I., King, 1100-1118.

Eustace, Count of Boulogne.

(ii.) Baldwin II., du Bourg,
1118-1130 [or 1131 or 1132].

Melisend = Fulk of Anjou, 1132-1143.

Baldwin III., †1143-1163. = Theodora Comnena.

Amalric I. 1163-1174. = (1) Agnes de Courtenay. (2) Maria Comnena.

(1) Baldwin IV., †1184 or 1185.

(1) Sibylla = (1) William of Montferrat. (2) Guy of Lusignan, †1194.

(1) Baldwin V., †1186.

(2) Several children died young.

(2) Isabella, †about 1206. = (1) Henfrid IV. of Toron (marriage dissolved), †1190. (2) Conrad of Montferrat, †1192. (3) Henry of Champagne, †1197. (4) Amalric of Cyprus, †1205. (Amalric II.)

(2) Mary = John de Brienne.

Yolande or Isabella, †1228. = Frederick II., †1250.

Conrad IV., †1254.

Conradin, †1268.

(3) Alice = (1) Hugh I. of Cyprus. (2) Bohemond V. of Antioch. (3) Ralph de Soissons.

(4) Amalric III., †1206.

(4) Melisend = Bohemond IV. of Antioch.

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VI. THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST

	A.D.
Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus)	912-958
[Co-regent Emperors—	
Alexander	912-913
Romanus I. (Lecapenus)	919-945]
Romanus II.	958-963
Basil II. (Bulgaroktonos)	963-1025
[Co-regent Emperors—	
Nicephorus II. (Phocas)	963-969
John I. (Zimisces)	969-976]
Constantine VIII.	1025-1028
Romanus III. (Argyrus)	1028-1034
Michael IV. (the Paphlagonian)	1034-1042
Michael V.	1042
Constantine IX. (Monomachus)	1042-1055
Theodora	1055-1057
Michael VI. (Stratioticus)	1056-1057
Isaac I. (Comnenus)	1057-1059
Constantine X. (Ducas)	1059-1067
Michael VII. (Ducas)	1067-1078
[Co-regent Emperor—	
Romanus IV. (Diogenes)	1067-1071]
Nicephorus III. (Botoniates)	1078-1081
Alexius I. (Comnenus)	1081-1118
John II. (Comnenus)	1118-1143
Manuel I. (Comnenus)	1143-1180
Alexius II. (Comnenus)	1180-1183
Andronicus I. (Comnenus)	1183-1185
Isaac II. (Angelus)	1185-1195
Alexius III. (Angelus)	1195-1203
Isaac II. (restored)	1203-1204
Alexius V. (Ducas)	1204
Latin Emperors—	
Baldwin I.	1204-1205
Henry	1205-1216
Peter	1216-1219
Robert	1219-1228
Baldwin II.	1228-1261
Nicæan Emperors—	
Theodore I. (Lascaris)	1204-1222
John III. (Ducas)	1222-1254
Theodore II. (Ducas)	1254-1258
John IV. (Ducas)	1258-1259
Restoration of the Emp e—	
Michael VIII. (Palæologus)	1259-1282

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VII. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF POPES AND ANTI-POPES

Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.
John X., 914-928	...	John XV., 985-996	...	Stephen IX., 1057-1058	Benedict X., 1058-1059
Leo VI., 928-929	...	Gregory V., 996-999	...	Nicholas II., 1058-1061	...
Stephen VII., 929-931	...	(John XVI., 997-998)	...	Alexander II., 1061-1073	Honorius, 1061-1062
John XI., 931-936	...	Sylvester II., 999-1003	...	Gregory VII., 1073-1085	Clement III., 1080-1100
Leo VII., 936-939	...	John XVII., 1003	...	Victor III., 1086-1087	...
Stephen VIII., 939-942	...	John XVIII., 1003-1009	...	Urban II., 1088-1099	...
Martin III., 942-946	...	Sergius IV., 1009-1012	...	Paschal II., 1099-1118	Albert, 1102 Theodoric Sylvester IV., 1105-1111
Agapetus II., 946-955	...	Benedict VIII., 1012-1024	...	Gelasius II., 1118-1119	Gregory VIII., 1118-1121
John XII., 956-963	...	John XIX., 1024-1033	...	Calixtus II., 1119-1124	...
Leo VIII., 963-965	Benedict V., 964-965	Benedict IX., 1033-1046 ; deposed in 1046.	Sylvester III., 1044-1046, deposed in 1046	Honorius II., 1124-1130	..
John XIII., 965-972	...	Gregory VI., 1044-1046, deposed in 1046	...	Innocent II., 1130-1143	Anacletus II., 1130-1138 Victor, 1138
Benedict VI., 972-974	...	Clement II., 1046-1047	...		
	...	Damasus II., 1048	...		
John XIV., 983-984	Boniface VII., 974-984 (Anti-Pope) (re-cognized), 984-985	Leo IX., 1048-1054	...		
		Victor II., 1055-1057	...		

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VII. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF POPES AND ANTI-POPES—*continued*

Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.	Popes.	Anti-Popes.
Celestine II., 1143-1144	...	Lucius III., 1181-1185	...	Alexander IV., 1254-1261	...
Lucius II., 1144-1145	...	Urban III., 1185-1187	...	Urban IV., 1261-1264	...
Eugenius III., 1145-1153	...	Gregory VIII., 1187	...	Clement IV., 1265-1268	...
Anastasius IV., 1153-1154	...	Clement III., 1187-1191	...	Gregory X., 1271-1276	...
Adrian IV., 1154-1159	...	Celestine III., 1191-1198	...	...	...
	Victor IV., 1159-1164	Innocent III., 1198-1216	...	...	...
Alexander III., 1159-1181	Paschal III., 1164-1168	Honorius III., 1216-1227	...	...	...
	Calixtus III., 1168-1178	Gregory IX., 1227-1241	...	...	...
	Lando, 1178-1180	Celestine IV., 1241	...	...	...
		Innocent IV., 1243-1254	..		

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INDEX

AACHEN (Aix la Chapelle), 8, 18, 22, 25, 29, 30, 41, 44, 91, 181, 182, 215, 248.
Aarhus, bishopric, 58.
Abbasside Caliphate (see Bagdad), 63, 68.
Abd-er-Rahman III., 239.
Abélard, 117, 120, 127, 133, 235.
Acre, 148, 150, 187, 206-207, 216, 253.
Adalbéron, Archbishop of Rheims, 45, 47.
Adalbert, King of Italy, 12, 14.
— Archbishop of Bremen, 79, 80.
— Archbishop of Mainz, 94, 122.
— of Prague, the "Apostle of Prussia," 59.
Adela of Champagne, 108, 185.
Adelaide, wife of Otto I., Emperor, 12, 14, 18.
— of Maurienne, 102.
Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, 137, 141.
Adolf, Count of Holstein, 167.
Adrian IV., 153, 154, 156, 159.
Africa, 128, 175, 202, 203, 215, 240.
Agnes of Meran, 190.
— of Poitiers, or Poitou, 33, 73, 78, 79.
Aigues Mortes, 202.
Ain Talut, battle of, 253.
Alan à la Barbe Torte, duke of Britanny, 99.
Alarcos, battle of, 242.
Alberic, 11, 12, 13, 17.
Albert the Bear, 126, 168.
Albertus Magnus, 236, 237.
Albi, 196.
Albigenses, 120, 121, 183, 229.
Albigensian Crusade, 195-198.
Alcantara, Order of, 241.
Aleppo, 63, 64, 146, 204, 243, 252.
Alessandria, 163, 164, 166.
Alexander the Great, 175.
— II., 75, 76, 80.
— III., 108, 156, 159-161, 163-165, 173, 238.
— IV., 234, 246.
— of Hales, 237.
— Co-regent Emperor of Constantinople, 62.
Alexius I. [Comnenus], 69, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 148.
— II. [Comnenus], 208.
— III. [Angelus], 176, 209, 210.
— [IV.], son of Isaac Angelus, 210.
— V. [Ducas], 210.
Alfonso I. of Aragon, 241.
— VI. of Castile, 240, 241.
— VII. of Castile, 241, 242.
— VIII. of Castile, 242.
— X. of Castile, 200, 242, 243, 248.
Alfred, King of England, 6.
Alice, half-sister of Philip Augustus, 186.
Almansor-al-Allah, 239, 240.
Almohades, 241, 242.
Almoravides, 240-242.
Alp Arslan, 68, 136.
Alphonse of Poitou, 129.
Altorf, 153.
Amalfi, 35, 62, 141.
Amalric I., King of Jerusalem, 203, 204.
Ambrose, St, 130, 158.
Amir al Omara, 63.
Anacletus II., 105, 123, 124.
Anastasius IV., 153.
Ancona, 174, 179-182.
Andrew, St, 143.
Andronicus Comnenus, 209.
Angelico, Fra, 59.
Angelo, St, castle of, 88, 94, 124.

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Ani, 68.
Anjou, 44, 49, 50, 52, 98, 100, 104, 148, 189.
Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, 76, 79, 80.
Anselm, St, 57, 95, 117.
— of Laon, 118.
— Bishop of Lucca. (See Alexander II., 75.)
Anthony, St, of Padua, 233.
Antioch, 64, 137, 150; Patriarch of, 146; principality of, 146; siege of, 142, 143; battle of, 144.
Aosta, 129.
Apennines, 85, 129.
Apulia, 15, 35, 36, 62, 72, 75, 123, 128, 135, 156, 173, 180, 182, 213, 217, 219, 246, 247.
Aquileia, March of, 12, 16; Patriarch of, 27.
Aquinas, St Thomas, 232, 236, 237.
Aquitaine, 33, 43, 49, 50, 98, 100, 101, 121, 195.
Arabs, 128, 217, 236, 237.
Aragon, 183, 239, 240-243.
Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, 26, 27.
Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, 29, 31, 32, 34, 131.
Aribo, Archbishop of Mainz, 28.
Aristotle, 218, 236, 237.
Arkah, 144.
Arles, 2, 48.
Armenia, 66, 68, 142, 174, 183.
Arnold of Brescia, 127, 133, 153-155.
Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, 6.
— Archbishop of Rheims, 47, 48.
Arsuf, battle of, 207.
Arthur of Britanny, 189.
Artois, 186.
Ascalon, battle of, 145; rebuilt, 207.
Assassins, sect of, 208.
Assisi, 230, 231.
Asti, 153, 163.
Atabek, 149.
Attalia, 150.
Augsburg, 85, 86.
Augustine, St, 114.
Aurillac, 20.
Austin Canons, 230.
— Friars, 233.
Austria, 1, 16, 249, 252; creation of duchy of, 155; duke of, 181, 188. (See Frederick, Leopold.)
Auvergne, 20, 50, 100, 109, 137, 197, 199.
Aversa, 36.
Avignon, 197.
Azai, Treaty of, 187.
Azzo d'Este, 182.

Bagdad, Caliphate of, 61, 63, 204; taken by Tartars, 252; Buhawid Emirate of, 68.
Baillis, 194, 201.
Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, 140, 144, 146, 147, 148.
— II., King of Jerusalem, 148.
— III., King of Jerusalem, 148, 150, 203.
— IV., King of Jerusalem, 203, 204, 205.
— V., King of Jerusalem, 204, 205.
— I., Emperor of the East, 210, 211.
— II., Emperor of Constantinople (see Courtenay), 211.
— V., Count of Flanders, 51, 52.
— VII., Count of Flanders, 103, 104.
Balearic Isles, 242.
Balkan Peninsula, 62; Mountains, 62.
Baltic Sea, 167, 168.
Bamberg, 27, 34, 86, 127.
Barcelona, 100, 239.
Bari, 35, 77, 135.
Basil II., Emperor of the East, 64-66.
Basle, Council of, 75, 76.
Bastides, 110.
Bautzen, Peace of, 26.
Bavaria, 6, 8-10, 13, 16, 18, 25, 32, 81, 87, 90, 122, 125, 126, 153, 155, 167, 181.
Bavarian East Mark, 155.
Beatrice, wife of Godfrey of Lorraine, 38, 77.
— wife of Otto IV., 181.
Beatrix of Burgundy, wife of Frederick I., 155, 161.

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Beauvais, 98.
Bec, Le, 57.
Belgrade, 66.
Benedict V., 15.
— VIII., 27, 29, 36.
— IX., 31, 32, 34, 35.
— X., 73, 75.
Benedictines, 56, 111-113, 115.
Benevento, 30, 35-38, 78, 82, 123.
— or Grandella, battle of, 247.
Berbers, 240, 241.
Berengar of Friuli, Emperor, 11, 12.
— of Ivrea, King of Italy, 12, 14.
— of Tours, 117, 120.
Berengaria of Navarre, 157, 161.
Bernard, St, 102, 105, 106, 113, 115-117, 119, 121, 124, 126, 127, 133, 147, 149, 150-152, 228.
— St, Great and Little, passes, 129.
Berno, Abbot of Cluny, 56.
Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, 19.
Berter of Orleans, 205.
Bertha, wife of Henry IV., 80.
— wife of Robert II., King of France, 48.
— of Holland, wife of Philip I., King of France, 97.
Bertrade de Montfort, wife of Philip I., King of France, 51, 52, 91, 97.
Besançon, 155; Diet of, 156.
Bethlehem, 216.
Bibars Bendocdar, Sultan, 253.
Billungs (see Hermann), 167; March of, 9, 10.
Black Friars. (See Dominicans.)
Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII., King of France, 197-199.
Blois, 40, 44, 49, 98, 100, 185, 186.
Bobbio, 20.
Böckelheim, 92.
Bohemia, 7, 10, 16-18, 26, 33, 87, 139, 155, 252.
Bohemond, 136, 140-142, 144, 146.
Boleslav Chabry, 26, 30, 33.
Bologna, 157, 178, 224, 235, 237, 238.
Boniface of Montferrat, 210.
— Marquis of Tuscany, 38, 77.
Bordeaux, 195.
Boulogne, 140, 191, 192, 198. (See Eustace, Godfrey, Philip Hurepel.)
Bourges, 53, 106.
Bouvines, battle of, 182, 192.
Braga, Archbishop of. (See Calixtus II.), 94, 95.
Brancaleone, Senator of Rome, 245.
Brémule, battle of, 103.
Brennabor (Brandenburg), 7, 59; Marquis of, 220.
Brenner Pass, 14, 34, 130, 153, 215, 221.
Brescia, 133, 157, 161, 221, 247.
Bretislav, Duke of Bohemia, 33.
Brindisi, 215-217.
Britanny, 43, 50, 99, 118, 190.
Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, 10, 13, 57, 58.
— St, founder of Carthusian Order, 111.
— Pope Gregory V. (see Gregory V.), 20.
— Bishop of Toul (see Leo IX.), 72, 135.
Brunswick, 168, 220.
Buhawids or *Bowides*, 63, 68.
Bulgaria, 62, 65, 66, 139, 150, 206, 209, 211, 252.
Burgundy, 2, 11, 31-33, 43, 44, 49, 50, 55, 90, 91, 98, 100, 109, 120, 121, 130, 155, 186, 198.
Byzantine Empire, 129, 135, 136, 175, 208.

CADALUS, Bishop of Parma (see Honorius II.), 76.
Caen, 98.
Cæsarea, 148, 166. (See Alessandria.)
Cairo, 144, 200; Caliphate of, 63, 204.
Calabria, 15, 17, 62, 72, 75, 123, 182.
Calatrava, Order of, 241.
Caliphate of Cordova, 63, 144, 204, 239, 240; Fatimite, of

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Egypt, 204; of Bagdad, 61, 63.
Calixtus II., 94, 96, 123.
Camaldoli, Order of, 59, 60.
Cannæ, battle of, 36.
Canon Law, 222, 237, 238.
Canons, Austin or Regular, 114, 229.
Canossa, 85, 86, 165.
Capua, 15, 27, 30, 35, 75, 82, 123, 128, 156.
Carinthia, 16, 81, 87, 252.
Carmelites (see White Friars), 233.
Carniola, 252.
Carroccio, 158, 164, 221.
Carthusian Order, 111, 112.
Cassino, Monte, 89.
Castile, King of, 109; county of, 239; kingdom of, 229, 240, 241-243.
Catalonia, 242, 243.
Cathari, 120, 121, 196.
Celestine II., 133.
— III., 173, 176.
— IV., 223.
Cenis, Mont, 85, 129, 163.
Châlons, 98.
Châlus, 188.
Champagne, 43, 44, 50, 98, 100, 106, 118, 185, 186.
Charismians, 200.
Charles the Great (Charlemagne), 2, 4, 8, 10, 15, 16, 22, 28, 29, 32, 39, 40, 43, 61, 130, 154, 171.
— the Simple, 44, 50, 99.
— Duke of Lower Lorraine, 45, 47.
— the Good, Count of Flanders, 104.
— of Anjou, 200, 245, 247, 248.
Charter of Charity, 112.
Chartres, 44; school of, 57.
Château-Gaillard, 188, 189.
Cherson, theme of, 62.
Chester, Earl of, 109.
Chieri, 153.
China, 252.
Christian, Archbishop of Mainz, 164.
Cid Campeador (see Roderic), 240, 241.
Cilicia, 60, 63, 64.
Cistercians, 112-115, 228.
Cîteaux, 112, 113, 115, 228.
Civil Law, 157, 171, 238.
Civitate or Civitella, first battle of, 36; second battle of, 37.
Clair-sur-Epte, Treaty of, 99.
Clairvaux, 112, 113, 115-117, 124.
Clement II. (see Suidger), 34, 35.
— III. (see Wibert), 87, 91, 173, 178.
— IV., 247-249.
Clermont, Council of, 91, 137, 138.
Clovis, 46.
Cluny, 33, 34, 41, 48, 55-57, 89, 94, 111, 119, 187, 228; customs of, 56; Congregation of, 56.
Cnut, King of England, 29, 33.
College of Cardinals, 73 *note*.
Cologne, 58, 78, 98, 180-182; Archbishop of, 27, 29, 181.
Colombiers, 187.
Colonne, battle of, 17.
Communes, French, 109, 110, 193; Lombard, 110, 127, 129, 130, 132, 155, 159-161.
Comnenus. (See Alexius, John, Manuel.)
Como, 131, 153, 157, 158, 164.
Company of Death, 164.
Conrad I. of Franconia, 1, 5, 62.
— II., Emperor, 28-32, 36, 40, 131.
— III., 115, 125-128, 133, 134, 149-153, 161, 170.
— IV., son of Frederick II., 219, 223, 224, 246.
— "The Younger," 29.
— son of Henry IV., 82, 85, 90, 91.
— The Red, Duke of Lorraine, 9, 12, 13, 28.
— of Franconia, anti-king, 123, 124.
— Duke of Spoleto, 179.
— of Montferrat, 207, 208, 210, 215.
Conradin, son of Conrad IV., 246-248, 252.
Constance, wife of Robert II., King of France, 48, 49.
— of Sicily, wife of Henry VI.,

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Emperor, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 180.
Constance of Aragon, wife of Frederick II., 214.
— of Castile, wife of Louis VII. of France, 107.
— Peace of, 165, 166.
Constantine, Emperor, 21.
— VII., Emperor of the East, 62, 63.
— VIII., Emperor of the East, 64-67.
— IX., Emperor of the East, 67.
— X., Emperor of the East (Ducas), 68.
Constantinople, 15, 22, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 83, 135, 136, 139, 140, 148, 150, 175, 203, 210; Latin Empire of, 183, 209, 211, 212; Patriarch of, 64, 83, 211.
Conventuals, 233.
Corfu, 88.
Corinth, 129.
Corteauova, battle of, 221.
Cortes, of Aragon, 243; of Castile, 243.
Council di Credenza, 131.
Courtenay, house of (see Baldwin II., Peter, Robert), 211.
Coutances, 98.
Crema, 157, 158.
Cremona, 91, 157, 158, 161, 221.
Crescentius, 17; John, son of, 19, 20, 26; faction of, 73.
Crete, 62, 63, 211.
Crusades, 1, 78, 229; First, 51, 91, 137-139, 141, 145, 149, 150, 251; Aquitanian, 147, 148; Second, 106, 115, 117, 126, 129, 149, 150, 170, 203; of Lisbon, 241; Third, 170, 174, 186, 187, 205-208; Fourth, 183, 209, 214, 215; of Henry VI., projected, 175, 176; of Children, 214, 215; of 1217, 183, 215, 216; of Frederick II., 216, 217; against Frederick II., 217, 224; against Moors in Spain, 241, 242; against Slavs, 126, 127; Albigensian, 195-198; of St Louis, 200, 202.
Cunigunde, wife of Henry II., Emperor, 27.
Curia Regis in France, 193-194.
Curland, 220.
Cyprus, 62, 64, 176, 183, 206-209, 252.

Dalmatia, 141, 209.
Damascus, 146, 150, 151, 203, 204, 208, 253.
Damasus II., 35.
Damiani, Peter, 59, 74, 80, 89.
Damietta, 200, 204, 215, 216.
Danes, 2, 6, 7, 9, 16, 17, 99; Danish march, 7, 58.
Dante, 218, 225, 231, 248.
Danube, 4, 10, 60, 62.
Dauphiné, 111, 120.
Decretum of Gratian, 238.
Demetrius, St, 144.
Denis, St, 106, 118, 194, 202.
Denmark, 29, 155, 167, 181, 190, 220, 252.
Diepold of Acerra, 182.
Dieppe, 98.
Dijon, 112, 115.
Divina Commedia, 225.
Dominic, St, 183, 196, 229-231.
Dominicans (see Black Friars, Fratres Prædicatores), 198, 228-233.
Dorylæum, battle of, 142.
Dover, 192.
Drogo, 36.
Ducas (see Alexius V., John, Theodore), 210-212.
Dunstan, St, 10.
Durazzo (see Dyrrachium), 61, 62, 136, 140.
Dyrrachium, battle of (see Durazzo), 136.

East Mark, 16.
Eastern Church, 67, 183, 209, 211.
— Empire, 2, 10, 11, 30, 60, 61, 69, 77, 82, 88, 91, 135, 136, 140, 160, 252.
Eberhard of Franconia, 9.
Eckhard of Meissen, 18, 19, 25.
Edessa, 144, 146, 148, 149, 203.
Edgiva, wife of Charles the Simple, 44.

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Edith, wife of Otto the Great, 10, 16.
Edmund of Lancaster, 245.
Edward the Elder, King of England, 10, 44.
Eger, Golden Bull of, 182.
Egypt, 63, 146, 148, 200, 203, 204, 209, 216, 233, 253.
Ekbert, Count, of Brunswick, 79.
Elbe, 7, 10.
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 100, 104, 107.
Elias of Cortona, 233.
Elizabeth, St, 220.
Elster river, battle of, 87.
Emesa, 146.
Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, 219.
England, 98, 103, 104, 108, 109, 123, 135, 138, 142, 174, 182, 184, 186, 188, 191, 192, 195, 200, 201, 205, 241, 251; fleet, 146, 148.
Enquesteurs, 201.
Enzio, King of Sardinia, 224.
Epirus, despots of, 211.
Erlembald, 77, 82.
Ernest of Swabia, 29, 30.
Eude or Odo, King of the West Franks, 43.
Eugenius III., 133, 153.
Eustace II., Count of Boulogne, 140.
— brother of Godfrey of Boulogne, 140.
Everlasting Gospel, Introduction to, 234.
Evora, Order of, 241.
Evreux, 98.
Ezzelino da Romano, 221, 246.

FATIMITES (see Cairo), 63.
Ferdinand I. of Castile, 240, 242, 243.
Ferrand, Count of Flanders, 191, 192.
Ferté, La, 112.
Feudalism, 1, 39, 40.
Fiorentino, castle of, 224.
Firouz or Pyrrhus, 142.
Flagellants, 234.
Flanders, 43, 49, 53, 92, 98, 99, 167, 181, 185, 186, 188, 207, 233.
Flarchheim, battle of, 87.
Fleury, 57.
Florence, 39, 59, 132, 231, 246.
Fontevrault, 112, 187.
Forchheim, 86.
France, 2, 4, 33, 35, 43-49, 52, 65, 90, 92, 96, 97, 102-109, 123, 129, 159, 181-188, 190, 192, 195, 198, 200-202, 205, 233, 241, 243, 251.
Francis, St, 230, 231, 233.
Franciscans (see Grey Friars, Minorites), 201, 229-233, 278.
Franconia, 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 27, 32, 58, 122.
Frangipani, 123.
Frankfurt, 152, 175, 181, 182, 249.
Fratres Prædicatores (see Dominicans), 229, 230.
Frederick I., Emperor, Barbarossa, 115, 126, 127, 132, 134, 152-171, 172, 206, 214, 245.
— II., Emperor, 174, 175, 180, 182-184, 190, 191, 198, 200, 213-227, 245.
— of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia, 152.
— Duke of Swabia, brother of Conrad III., 122-124.
— of Swabia, son of Conrad III., 161.
— Duke of Austria, 220.
— Abbot of Monte Cassino (see Stephen IX.), 72.
— Archbishop of Mainz, 12, 13.
Friars (see Austin Friars, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans), 199, 216, 217.
Fulbert of Chartres, 58.
Fulcher of Chartres, 203.
Fulda, school of, 58.
Fulk V., Count of Anjou and King of Jerusalem, 104, 148.
— of Neuilly, 209.

GAETA, 35, 59, 62.
Galilee, 146.
Gall, St, school of, 58.
Gandersheim, abbey of, 58.
Garlande, Etienne de, 102.
Gascony, 100, 195.

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Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstädt (see Victor II.), 38.
Gelasius II., 94.
Geneviève, Mont Ste, 118, 133.
Genèvre, Mont, 129.
Genghiz Khan, 252.
Genoa, 31, 124, 130, 132, 142, 146, 148, 163, 164, 180, 187, 223, 252.
Geoffrey the Fair, Count of Anjou, 104, 107.
— of Britanny, 186.
Gerald de Barry (Giraldus Cambrensis), 108.
Gerberge, wife of Louis d'Outremer, 44.
Gerbert (see Sylvester II.), 20-23, 45, 48, 57, 58.
Gerhard, Bishop of Florence (see Nicholas II.), 73.
Germano, San, Peace of, 217.
Gero, 9.
Gerstungen, Peace of, 81.
Gertrude of Supplinburg, 125, 126.
Ghibelines (see Waiblingen), 125, 152, 180-182, 190, 246-248.
Gilbert de la Porrée, 119.
— of Sempringham, 112.
Gisela, wife of Conrad II., Emperor, 28-30.
Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Upper Lorraine, 38, 40, 72, 73.
— the Hunchbacked, Duke of Lorraine, 77, 90.
— of Boulogne or Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, 140, 144-147.
Golden Horde, 252.
Gotthard, St, pass, 130.
Gozelo, Duke of Lorraine, 38.
Granada, kingdom of, 243
Grandella or Benevento, battle of, 247.
Grandmont, Order of, 111.
Gratian, 238.
Great Charter, 192.
Greek fire, 207.
Greeks, 11, 19, 27, 35-37, 65, 77, 128, 136, 150.
Grenoble, 111.
Gregory V., 20.
— VI., 34, 71.
Gregory VII. (see Hildebrand), 57, 58, 76-78, 82, 84-92, 94, 152, 178.
— VIII., Anti-pope, 94.
— IX., 213, 216, 221-223, 231, 238.
— X., 249.
Grey Friars (see Franciscans), 230, 232.
Gualberto, St Giovanni, 59.
Guelfs, 125, 152, 180, 181, 246-248.
Gunhilda, wife of Henry III., Emperor, 33.
Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, 205, 207, 208.
— Archbishop of Vienne (see Calixtus II.), 94.

HABSBURG dynasty (see Rudolf), 245.
Hakam II., 239.
Hamah, 146.
Hanse of Paris, 193.
Harding or Stephen, Abbot of Cîteaux, 112.
Harold, King of England, 136.
— Bluetooth, King of Denmark, 98.
Haroun al Raschid, 61.
Harzburg, 81.
Hattin or Tiberias, battle of, 205.
Havelberg, 59.
Hawisa, wife of King John of England, 189.
Heloisa, 118, 119.
Henry I., the Fowler, 1, 5-7, 9, 25, 43.
— II., Emperor, 25-30, 40, 131.
— III., Emperor, 30, 32-40, 50, 60, 71, 72, 74, 123.
— IV., Emperor, 32, 38, 41, 71, 75, 78-82, 84-87, 90, 91.
— V., Emperor, 82, 92-96, 104, 122-124, 162.
— VI., 168-170, 172-176, 179, 180, 182, 188, 209, 215, 245.
— VII., son of Frederick II., 215, 219, 221.
— I., King of England, 95, 96, 103, 104, 107.
— II., King of England, 100, 105, 107, 108, 110, 148, 159,

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160, 168, 173, 185-187, 192, 205, 218.
Henry III., King of England, 195, 198, 200, 219, 233, 245, 248.
— VIII., King of England, 226.
— I., King of France, 31, 47, 49-51, 60.
— Henry, son of Conrad III., 126, 127.
— Henry, son of Frederick II., 246.
— Henry, son of Henry II. of England, 186.
— Henry I., Duke of Bavaria, brother of Otto I., 9, 10, 12, 13, 16.
— the Quarrelsome, Duke of Bavaria, 16, 18, 25.
— the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, 124-126, 152.
— Duke of Bavaria, uncle of Frederick I., 126, 155.
— the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, 126, 127, 153, 155, 160, 164, 167-169, 172, 173, 180, 220.
— Henry of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, 173, 174.
— Henry, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 211.
— of Champagne, King of Jerusalem, 208.
— of Brabant, 190.
— Raspe, anti-king, 224.
— of Lausanne, 121.
Henricians, 121, 196.
Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 205.
Heresy, 115-117, 119-121.
Hermandades of Spanish towns, 243.
Hermann Billung, 9, 13, 16.
— Duke of Swabia, 25, 28.
— of Luxemburg, anti-king, 87.
— of Salza, 220.
— Landgrave of Thuringia, 220.
Hersfeld, abbey of, 81 ; school of, 58.
Hildebrand (see Gregory VII.), 51, 59, 71, 73, 75, 76, 83, 228.
Hishem II., Caliph of Cordova, 240.
Hohenburg, battle of, 81.
Holy Cross, 205.
— Roman Empire, 15, 171.
Holland, 191.
Honorius II. (see Cadalus), 76, 78, *note*, 123.
— III., 197, 198, 213-216.
Hospitallers, 147, 241, 252.
Hrotswitha, Abbess of Gandersheim, 58.
Hugh the Great, father of Hugh Capet, 44, 98, 99.
— Capet, King of France, 20, 44, 45-47, 50.
— son of Robert II., King of France, 49.
— the Great, Count of Vermandois, 140.
— of Burgundy, King of Italy, 11, 12.
— of Cluny, 56, 57, 85, 86.
— de Payens, 147.
— the White, Cardinal, 83.
Hugue du Puiset, 103.
Humbert, Cardinal-bishop, 60.
Humphrey, son of Tancred of Hauteville, 36, 75.
Hungarians (see Magyars), 55, 138, 139.
Hungary, 10, 21, 30, 33, 38, 140, 150, 183, 206, 252.
"Hungary, Master of," 233. (See *Pastoureaux*.)
Hyacinth, Cardinal, Pope Celestine III., 173.

Iconium, 141, 142.
Ikshides, 63.
Ile de France, 98, 103.
Impostors, the Three, 225.
Ingeborg, wife of Philip Augustus, 190.
Ingelheim, 92.
Innocent II., 105, 106, 115, 119, 123, 124, 127, 156.
— III., 176-184, 188, 190-192, 196, 209, 210, 213-215, 229, 238.
— IV., 213, 223, 224, 238, 245, 246.
Inquisition, 198, 232.
Interregnum, Great, 246, 249.
Investiture, 60, 82, 84, 87, 91, 93-96, 115, 131.

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Irene, wife of Philip of Swabia, 176.
Isaac Angelus, 209, 210.
— I., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, 67-69.
— Comnenus, Emperor of Cyprus, 206.
Isabella, wife of King John of England, 215.
— wife of Frederick II., 219.
— Queen of Jerusalem, 207, 208.
Islam, 63.

Jaffa or Joppa, 145, 207, 208.
James I. of Aragon, 242, 243.
Jerusalem, 36, 47, 50, 99, 136-139, 144, 145, 170, 183, 186, 200, 202, 205, 206, 210, 216.
— Latin kingdom of, 145, 146, 148, 203, 207, 208, 252, 253.
— Assizes of, 146.
— Patriarch of, 146, 182, 216.
— St John of, 147.
Jews, 116, 139, 193, 217, 226.
Jihad or Holy War, 149.
Joachim, Abbot, 226, 234.
John XI., Pope, 11.
— XII., Pope, 13, 14.
— XIII., Pope, 15.
— XV., Pope, 19.
— XIX., 29, 31.
— Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, 150.
— Lackland, King of England, 181, 183, 187-192.
— de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, 215-217.
— Ducas, 69.
— III., Ducas, 211.
— IV., Ducas, 212.
Joinville, Sieur de, 199, 201, 202.
Jordan of Capua, 90.
Joscelin I., Count of Edessa, 149.
— II., Count of Edessa, 149.
Judith, mother of Frederick I., 152.
Justicia of Aragon, 243.

Kaiserchronik, 171.
Kamba, 28.
Kerak, 146, 205.
Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, 142, 143.
Kiel, Bay of, 9.
Kiev, 65.
Kilij Arslan, 142.
Knights of the Sword, Order of, 220.
Kutuz, Sultan, 253.

Lambeth, Treaty of, 192.
Lance, Holy, 143, 144.
Landfrieden, 171.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 57, 78, 117.
Langres, 98.
Languedoc, 100, 121, 195, 197.
Laodicea, 150.
Laon, 43, 45, 47, 98, 99.
— School of, 57.
Larissa, 136.
Lateran, 76, 124.
— Palace, 73, 156.
— Councils, 73, 74, 94, 95, 182, 183, 197, 215.
Lausitz, March of, 10, 26.
League, Lombard, 160-166, 221.
— Veronese, 160-162.
Lechfeld, battle of the, 13.
Leicester, Earl of, 109.
Lenzen, battle of, 7.
Leo VIII., Pope, 14, 15.
— IX., Pope, 35, 36, 50, 58, 60, 71, 72, 75, 76.
— VI., Emperor of Constantinople, 62.
Leon, 239, 240, 242, 243.
Leopold, Duke of Austria, 126, 174.
Liége, Archbishop of, 92.
Limousin, 100, 188, 195.
Lincoln, battle of, 192.
Lisbon, Crusade of, 241.
Lisieux, 98.
Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, son of Otto I., 9, 12-14.
Liutgarde, daughter of Otto I., 9, 12, 28.
Livonia, 220.
Lodi, 131, 153, 157, 158, 162.
Lohengrin, 145.
Lombardy, 11, 15, 26, 31, 75, 77, 87, 90, 129, 132, 159, 161, 166, 224, 246; bishops of, 83, 130, 131; cities of, 73, 74, 158, 159, 174, 221, 247; iron crown of, 123, 153.

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Lorraine, or Lotharingia, 6-9, 13, 16, 17, 25, 28, 29, 35, 38, 44, 49, 50, 71, 72, 92, 120, 140, 191.
Lothair II., Emperor, 94, 114, 122-125, 127, 156, 167, 176.
— son of Hugh of Burgundy, 12.
— King of France, 44, 45.
— of Segni (see Innocent III.), 176, 178.
Louis the Child, King of Germany, 5.
— d'Outre-mer, King of France, 44, 100.
— V., King of France, 45.
— VI., King of France, 51, 53, 97, 98, 101-105, 109, 110.
— VII., King of France, 100, 105-110, 149, 151, 159, 160.
— VIII., King of France, 185, 191, 192, 195, 197, 199.
— IX. (St Louis), King of France, 185, 198-202, 223, 233, 234, 236, 245, 253.
Louvre, 194.
Lübeck, 167, 168.
Lucca, 132.
Lucera, 217, 224.
Lucius II., 133.
— III., 120, 170.
Lusignans of Cyprus, 252.
Lyons, 120; Council of, 223; Poor Men of (see Waldenses), 120.

Maçon, 55.
Magdeburg, 16, 19, 114.
Magyars (see Hungarians), 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 130, 252.
Maine, 100, 121, 189, 200.
Mainz (Mayence), 25, 28; Archbishop of, 92, 95, 182, 224; Assembly of, 219, 212.
Majolus, Abbot of Cluny, 56.
Malek Shah, 136, 137, 149.
Malta, 128.
Mamelukes, 253.
Manfred, Prince of Tarentum, 224, 242, 246, 247.
Mansourah, battle of, 200.
Mantes, 52.
Mantua, 90, 161; Council of, 76.
Manuel I., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, 129, 150, 160, 204, 208.
Manzikert, battle of, 68, 135.
Marche, La, Count of, 189.
Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. of France, 107, 186.
Margarito, Admiral, 173.
Markgrafen, 9.
Markwald of Ancona, 179, 180, 213, 214.
Marozia, 11.
Marra, 144.
Marseilles, 148, 187, 214.
Matilda, wife of Henry the Fowler, 10.
— wife of Henry V., Emperor, 94, 104, 107.
— Countess of Tuscany, 77, 82, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 124, 125.
Matildine lands, 124, 159, 170, 179, 181, 182.
Matthew, Chancellor of Sicily, 173.
— Paris, 225.
Meaux, Treaty of, 198.
Mecklenburg, 168.
Meissen, March of, 10.
Melfi, 218; Council of, 75.
Melisend, daughter of Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, 148.
Melus, 36.
Mendicant Orders (see Friars, Franciscans, Dominicans), 111, 224, 228, 233, 234, 236.
Merovingian kings of France, 46.
Merseburg, 25; March of, 10.
Mesopotamia, 63, 68.
Messina, 176, 206.
Michael IV., Emperor of Constantinople, 67.
— V., Emperor of Constantinople, 67.
— VI., Emperor of Constantinople, 67.
— VII., Emperor of Constantinople, 69.
— VIII., Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, 211, 212.
— Scott, 218.
Miesco, Duke of Poland, 30.

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Milan, 31, 32, 74, 77, 129-132, 153, 155, 157, 158, 162-164, 169, 221, 222; Archbishop of, 26, 29, 74, 123, 157.
Military Orders, 203, 216, 242.
Minnesinger, 171, 220.
Minorites (see Franciscans), 230.
Mohammed, 63.
Mongols (see Tartars), 252.
Monteaperto, battle of, 246.
Montebello, Peace of, 163.
Montferrat, Marquis of, 132, 163, 164.
Montfort l'Amauri, 197.
Montlhéry, 53.
Montreal, 146.
Moors, 2, 10, 214, 239-242.
Morimond, 112.
Morocco, 240-242.
Mortemer, battle of, 50.
Mosul, 63, 142, 149.
Mühlhausen, 181.
Munich, 167.
Muret, battle of, 197, 242.

Naples, 27, 35, 62, 173, 248; University of, 217.
Navarre, 2, 183, 239, 240, 242, 243.
Navas, Las, de Tolosa, battle of, 242.
Netherlands, 182.
Nibelungenlied, 171.
Nicæa, 135, 141, 142, 148, 150; Empire of, 211.
Nicephorus Phocas, Co-regent Emperor of the East, 63-66.
— III., Eastern Emperor, 69.
Nicholas II., 75.
— Breakspear. (See Adrian IV.)
Nilo, St, 59.
Nizam-el-Mulk, 136.
Nogent, 118.
Norbert, St, 114, 124.
Nordgau, 16.
Normandy, 43, 49-53, 98, 99, 103, 104, 188, 189.
Normans, 35-38, 98, 99; of Southern Italy, 27, 67, 72-75, 77, 88, 90, 93, 128, 129, 135, 140, 156, 161, 164, 180.
North March, 10, 126.
Norway, 252; Norwegian fleet, 148.
Notre Dame, Chancellor of, 235, 236.
Noyon, 98.
Nur-ed-din, 203, 204.

Ochrida, 66.
Octavian (see John XII.), 13; Cardinal (see Victor IV.), 159.
Oder, river, 7, 9.
Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, 56, 57.
Odo (see Eude, King of France), 45.
— Abbot of Cluny, 56.
— Count of Champagne, 31.
— Duke of Burgundy, 44.
Old Man of the Mountain, 208.
Oldenburg, bishopric, 59.
Omar, Mosque of, 216.
Ommeyads (see Cordova), 63.
Oppenheim, 85.
Orleans, 97.
Osma, 229.
Osmond de Centeville, 99.
Ostia, 74, 89.
Otto I., Emperor, 7-18, 20, 21, 28, 40, 44, 57, 58, 154.
— II., Emperor, 15-19, 44, 45, 66.
— III., Emperor, 17-22, 25, 26, 28, 45, 57, 59, 175, 225, 245.
— IV., Emperor, 180-183, 188, 190-192, 215.
— Duke of Swabia, son of Liudolf of Swabia, 16.
— Count of Wittelsbach, 181.
— of Freisingen, 117, 125, 132, 152, 154, 171, 176.
— of Nordheim, 79-81.
Ottokar II., King of Bohemia, 252.
Ourique, battle of, 242.
Oxford, University of, 232, 237.

Palermo, 174, 176, 180, 214, 225; Archbishop of, 224.
Palestine, 106, 183, 203, 205, 215, 217.
Papal States, 222.
Paraclete, oratory and nunnery of the, 118, 119.

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Paris, 17, 43-45, 106, 108, 114, 118, 119, 133, 178, 194, 197, 236, 237 ; school of, 57 ; University of, 232, 234-237.
Parlamento, 131.
Parlement, 201.
Parma, 221, 224.
Paschal II., 93, 94.
— III., 161, 171.
Pastoureaux, 233, 234.
Patarini, 74, 75, 77, 82, 90, 131.
Paterno, 22.
Patrician of Rome, 19, 21, 26, 34, 75.
Patrimony of St Peter, 78, 93, 180.
Pavia, 12, 14, 26, 29, 31, 34, 129-131, 153, 155, 157, 161, 163, 164, 221, 222, 247 ; Council of, 159 ; Law school of, 58.
Périgord, 195.
Perils of the Last Days, 234.
Persia, 63, 68, 252.
Perugia, 183.
Peter of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, 211.
— King of Aragon, 197, 242.
— King of Hungary, 33, 38.
— Bartholomew, 143, 144.
— Bernardone, father of St Francis, 230.
— of Castlenau, murder of, 196.
— the Hermit, 139, 140, 214.
— the Lombard, 119.
— the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, 119.
— de la Vigne, 224, 226.
— Valdo or Waldo, 120.
— de Bruis, 121.
Petrobrussians, 121, 196.
Pfalzgrafen, 9.
Philip of Swabia, 174, 176, 179-181, 190, 210.
— I., King of France, 47, 50-53.
— II., King of France (Augustus), 106-109, 185-195, 198, 201, 206-208.
— III., King of France, 202.
— Hurepel, Count of Boulogne, 198.
Piacenza, 130, 157 ; Council of, 90.
Pierleone (see Anacletus II.), 123.
Pierre Mauclerc, Count of Britanny, 198.
Pisa, 123, 125, 130, 132, 148, 164, 173, 174, 180, 247, 252 ; fleet, 124, 182.
Po, river, 129, 130, 163.
Podestà, 157 ; of Milan, 221.
Poitiers, 119, 189.
Poitou, 100, 189, 191, 195, 199, 200.
Poland, 16-18, 21, 26, 30, 33, 81, 155, 220, 252.
Pomerania, 127, 220.
Pontigny, 112.
Poor Clares, Order of, 230.
— Men of Assisi (see Franciscans), 230.
Portugal, 239, 241, 243.
Prague, 33.
Praxedis, wife of Henry IV., Emperor, 90.
Prefect of Rome, 21, 179.
Premonstratensian Order, 114, 124.
Presthlava, battle of, 65.
Prévôt, 194.
Provence, 2, 11, 100, 120, 121.
Prussia, 214, 220 ; "Apostle of," 59.
Pyrrhus (see Firouz), 142.

Quadrivium, 237.
Quedlinburg, 7, 58.
Quincey, 118.

Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne, 161.
Rainulf, Count of Aversa, 36.
— of Alife, 125
Ramleh, 148.
Raoul de Vermandois, 102, 106, 107.
Ravenna, 20, 22, 174, 179.
Raymond of St Gilles, Count of Toulouse, 141, 144-146.
— V., Count of Toulouse, 196.
— VI., Count of Toulouse, 183, 196-198.
— VII., Count of Toulouse, 183, 197-199.
— Berenger, Marquis of Provence, 200.
— Count of Tripoli, 205.

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Reconquista of Spain, 243.
Reichenau, school of, 58.
Renaissance, twelfth century, 57, 111, 117, 235, 238.
Rheims, 20, 45, 98, 109, 198; Archbishop of, 106; Council of 1049, 60; Council of 1119, 95; Council of 1148, 119; school of, 57.
Rhine, 4, 28, 79, 85; Rhine cities, 87.
Rhone, 31, 100, 196, 197.
Richard I., Cœur de Lion, King of England, 173, 174, 181, 186-189, 194, 206-208, 218.
— of Aversa and Capua, 74, 75, 78.
— Earl of Cornwall, 200, 243, 245, 246, 248.
— the Fearless, Duke of Normandy, 98, 99.
Ripen, bishopric, 58.
Robert I., Count of Paris and King of France, 43-45.
— II., King of France, 29, 47-49, 120.
— Duke of Burgundy, 49.
— Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, 50.
— Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, 103, 141, 143, 145.
— of Artois, brother of Louis IX. of France, 200.
— d'Arbrissel, 112.
— of Capua, 125.
— of Dreux, 107.
— le Frison, Count of Flanders, 52.
— of Jerusalem, Count of Flanders, 99, 141.
— Guiscard, 74, 75, 77, 82, 84, 88, 90, 112, 123, 127, 135, 136.
Roderic (Ruy) Diaz de Bivar (see Cid), 240, 241.
Roger, Duke of Apulia, 90.
— the "Great Count," of Sicily, 78, 84, 90, 123, 127 *note*, 141.
— I. (or II.), King of Sicily, 123-125, 127-129, 156, 173.
— of Sicily, son of Tancred of Lecce, 174, 176.
Roger, Bacon, 232.
Roland of Parma, 83.
— Cardinal (see Alexander III)., 156, 159.
Rollo of Normandy, 98, 99.
Roman Empire, 1, 21, 25, 171; of German nation, 30, 32, 39.
— Law (see Civil Law), 58, 128.
Romanus I. Co-regent Emperor of the East, 62.
— II., Emperor of the East, 63.
— III., Emperor of the East, 67.
— IV., Diogenes, Emperor of the East, 68, 69.
Rome, 1, 8, 12-14, 17-22, 26-29, 34, 38, 39, 60, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 82, 83, 87, 88, 91, 93-95, 123, 124, 130, 132-134, 153, 154, 159-161, 165, 174, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 190, 215, 217, 221, 222, 224, 245-247; Republic of, 154, 155.
Romuald, St, of Ravenna, 59.
Roncaglia, plain of, 153; Assembly of, 157.
Roscelin, 117, 118, 120.
Rouen, 98, 109, 188, 189.
Roum (see Iconium), 141.
Rudolf of Burgundy, King of France, 45.
— II., King of Burgundy and Italy, 11, 12.
— III., King of Burgundy, 29-31.
— Duke of Burgundy, 43, 44.
— Duke of Swabia, anti-king, 81, 86, 87.
— of Habsburg, 1, 249.
Rurik, 65.
Russia, 64, 65, 252.
Rutebœuf, 236.

Sacerdotium, *Imperium*, and *Studium*, 235.
Sachsenspiegel, 220.
Saintonge, 195.
Saladin, 204, 205, 207, 208.
Saleph, river, 170.
Salerno, 27, 30, 35, 36, 88, 217.
Salimbene, Fra, 225.
Salzburg, Archbishop of, 158

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Samuel, King of the Bulgarians, 66.
Sancho the Great, King of Navarre, 240.
Santiago, Order of, 241.
Saracens, 4, 11, 17, 27, 35, 36, 55, 62, 77, 88, 130, 180, 214, 216, 217, 224, 247; caravan captured, 205.
Sardinia, 224.
Savelli, house of, 214.
Savoy, Count of, 163.
Saxony, 6, 7, 15, 16, 25, 80-82, 84, 94, 95, 122, 125, 126, 153, 167, 168, 182.
Scandinavian Crusaders, 207, 215.
Schleswig, March of, 7; bishopric of, 58.
Schwabenspiegel, 220.
Schwerin, 168.
Scotland, 109.
Ségur, Mt., massacre of, 198.
Seine, 44, 50, 98, 188.
Seljuk, 68.
Senate of Rome, 21, 133, 153, 154, 161; Lombard Senate, 131.
Senator of Rome, 12, 30, 174, 179, 245-248.
Sénéchaux, 201.
Senlac, or Hastings, battle of, 65, 136.
Senlis, Assembly of, 45.
Sens, Council of, 119.
Sepulchre, Holy, 137, 141, 145, 170, 209, 217.
Serbs, 136.
Seven Liberal Arts, 237.
Shawir, 204.
Shirkuh, 204.
Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem, 204, 205, 207.
Sicily, 11, 35, 62, 75, 78, 123, 128, 129, 156, 174, 175, 180, 181, 182, 184, 187, 200, 203, 206, 215-218, 220, 225, 242, 245-247; constitution of kingdom of, 218.
Sidon, 146, 148.
Siena, 73, 132, 247.
Siete Partidas, 243.
Silistria, battle of, 65.
Simon de Montfort, 197; the younger, Earl of Leicester, 197.
Simony, 34, 35, 60, 72, 74, 82, 91.
Sinibaldo Fieschi (see Innocent IV.), 223.
Slavs, 4, 5, 9, 10, 16, 19, 26, 28, 33, 65, 66, 115, 126, 167, 168, 252.
Societas Lombardiæ (see League, Lombard), 162, 221.
Soissons, Council of, 118.
Spain, 2, 10, 120, 123, 237, 239, 251.
Speier (Spires), 39, 85, 92, 96.
Spirituals, 233.
Splügen Pass, 130.
Spoleto, 174, 180-182.
States of the Church, 170, 179, 181, 184, 224.
Statutum in favorem principum, 218.
Stephen, King of England, 106, 107.
— King of Hungary, 21, 33.
— IX., Pope, 72, 75.
— Count of Blois and Chartres, 141, 143.
— or Harding, Abbot of Cîteaux, 112.
— Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 190.
Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, 78.
Strict Observance, brethren of the, 233.
Styria, 252.
Suger, Abbot of St Denis, 101, 102, 104-107, 110, 117, 118.
Suibert, St, or Kaiserswerth, 79.
Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg (see Clement II.), 34.
Susa, 129, 163.
Sutri, 93; Council of, 34; Synod of, 73.
Sviatoslav, King of the Russians, 65.
Swabia, 6, 8, 9, 32, 40, 58, 81, 87, 122.
Sweden, 252.
Switzerland, 121, 123.
Sylvester I., 21.
— II. (See Gerbert.)
— III., 34.

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Syria, 64, 68, 127, 137, 138, 142, 144, 148, 149, 170, 187, 200, 203, 204, 206, 208, 252, 253; Syrians, 142, 146, 203; Syrian Franks, 148, 150, 203.

Tagliacozzo, battle of, 247.
Tancred of Hauteville, 36, 74.
— leader of First Crusade, 141, 145.
— Count of Lecce, King of Sicily, 173, 174, 180, 206.
Tartars or Mongols, 224, 252, 253.
Tasso, 145.
Templars, 147, 205, 241, 252.
Temple, 216; of Solomon, 145, 147.
Terracina, 89.
Teutonic Order, 220.
Thaddeus of Suessa, 223.
Thankmar, son of Henry the Fowler, 9.
Thebes, 129.
Theobald IV. of Blois and II. of Champagne, 103 (Blois), 106, 108 (Champagne).
— of Champagne, supporter of Blanche of Castile, 198.
— of Champagne, leader of Fourth Crusade, 209, 210.
Theodora, Empress of Constantinople, 67.
Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nicæa, 211.
— II., Ducas, Emperor of Nicæa, 211.
Theophano, wife of Romanus II., Eastern Emperor, 64.
— wife of Otto II., Emperor, 15, 18, 19, 65, 66.
Thessalonica, kingdom of, 210, 211.
Thomas, St, of Canterbury (Becket), 107-109, 160, 161.
— de Marle, 102, 105
Thuringia, 6, 81, 220, 224, 226.
Tiber, 154.
Ticino, 129.
Tinchebrai, battle of, 103.
Tivoli, 22.
Toghrul Beg, 68.
Toledo, 240.
Tortona, 153, 155.
Toulouse, 43, 121, 197, 199, 200; Counts of, 100, 101, 107, 109.
Touraine, 49, 189.
Tours, 187, 189.
Trappists, Order of, 112.
Trebizond, Empire of, 211.
Treviso, 161.
Tribur, Council of, 85.
Trier (Treves), Archbishop of, 125.
Tripoli, 156.
Trivium, 237.
Troja, 27.
Truce of God, 138.
Tunis, 202.
Turin, 129, 163; Marquis of, 80.
Turks, Seljuk, 68, 69, 82, 91, 135-138, 140, 142-144, 146, 148-150, 170, 205, 207-209, 252, 253.
Tuscan League, 179.
Tuscany, 38, 71, 72, 77, 90, 153, 159, 174, 247.
Tusculan Popes, 34; Faction, 73.
Tusculum, 27, 29, 133, 173.
Tyre, 208; Archbishop of, 205.
Tyrol, 130.

Universities, 1, 229.
Unstrut river, 81, 87.
Urban II., 89-91, 94, 137, 138.
— III., 170.
— IV., 246, 247.
Utrecht, 32, 84, 96.

Valencia, 241, 242.
Val-es-Dunes, battle of, 50.
Valois, 53.
Vallombrosa, Order of, 59.
Varangians, 136.
Varaville, battle of, 50.
Vatican, Synod, 83.
Vaudois, Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons, 120.
Vendôme, 214.
Venice, 22, 62, 130, 132, 148, 160, 166, 180, 209, 210, 222; fleet, 136, 146, 212; Congress of, 165; Doge of, 210; Peace of, 160, 165, 166.
Vermandois, 98; Count of, 43, 53.

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Verona, 12, 16, 17, 22, 130, 161, 221, 246.
Vexin, French, 52, 53; Norman, 101, 107, 186.
Vézelay, Assembly of, 149.
Vicenza, 161, 221.
Victor, St, Abbey of, 114.
Victor II., 38, 72, 78.
— III., 89.
— IV, 159, 160.
Vienne, 94.
Vikings, 2, 5, 35, 43, 50, 65, 98.
Villes neuves, 110.
Vincennes, 201.
Visigoths, 239, 240.
Vitry, 106.
Vittoria, 224

Waiblingen (see Ghibelines), 125, 126, 150.
Waldenses (see Vaudois), 120.
Walter of Brienne, 180, 215.
— the Penniless, 139.
— de Poissy, 139.
— Bishop of Troja, 180.
Walther von der Vogelweide, 220.
Weinsberg, battle of, 126.
Welf, Duke of Bavaria, 90.
— Count, uncle of Henry the Lion, 127.
— Count, and Marquis of Tuscany, 153.
Welfs (see Guelfs), 91, 122, 125-128, 153, 220.
Wends, 7, 13, 18, 58.
White Friars (see Carmelites), 233.
White Ship, wreck of the, 103.
Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna (see Clement III.), 87.
William the Conqueror, King of England, 49, 50, 52, 64, 135, 141, 191.
— Rufus, King of England, 52.
— *the Ætheling*, 103.
— *Clito*, 103, 104.
— I., the Bad, King of Sicily, 156, 159, 160.
William II., the Good, King of Sicily, 160, 165, 173, 206.
— III., son of Tancred, King of Sicily, 174.
— of Holland, anti-king, 224, 246, 248.
— Longsword, Duke of Normandy, 98, 99,
— of the Iron Arm, 36.
— Duke of Apulia, 123.
— Towhead, Count of Poitou, 100.
— the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, 33, 55.
— V., Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, 29, 33, 49.
— Duke of Aquitaine, leader of the "Aquitanian Crusade," 147.
— X., Duke of Aquitaine, 100, 104.
— of Champeaux, 118.
— Archbishop of Mainz, 13, 16.
— of Malmesbury, 114.
— of Montferrat, 204.
— de St Amour, 234, 236.
— of Tyre, 150.
Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, 18-20, 25.
Wolfram von Eschenbach, 220.
Worms, 81, 218; Councils of, 83, 95; Concordat of, 95, 124.

Yolande of Brienne, wife of Frederick II., Emperor, 216, 217, 252.
Yusuf, leader of Almoravides, 241.

Zalaca or Zallaca, battle of, 240.
Zara, 209, 210.
Zeitz, March of, 10.
Zengy, Imad-ed-din, 149, 203.
Zimisces, John, Co-regent Emperor of Constantinople, 64-66.
Zoe, Empress of Constantinople, 67.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMMERCE	3
DIVINITY	4
DOMESTIC SCIENCE	4
ENGLISH	5
FRENCH	7
GENERAL INFORMATION	9
GEOGRAPHY	10
GERMAN	11
GREEK	12
HISTORY	14
LATIN	18
MATHEMATICS	21
SCIENCE	23
TECHNOLOGY	27
SERIES OF EDUCATIONAL WORKS	29–32

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